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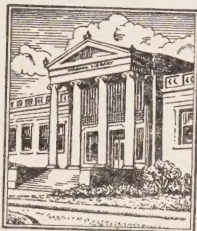
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The Quakers in Great Britain and America



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THE QUAKERS IN ENGLAND
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THE PUBLISHED WORKS

OF

CHARLES F. HOLDER

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The Marvels of Animal Life.....Charles Scribner's Sons, New York
The History of the Elephant (The Ivory King)....Charles Scribner's
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Along the Florida Reef.....D. Appleton & Co., New York
The Game Fishes of the Sea (America)....The Outing Co., New York
Stories of Animal Life.....American Book Company, New York
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The Big Game Fishes of America....The Macmillan Co., New York
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Half Hours with Nature—The Lower Animals....American Book Co.,
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Half Hours with Nature—The Birds and Mammals....American
Book Co., New York
Leading American Men of Science....Henry Holt & Co., New York
The Channel Islands of California....A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago
The Marooner.....B. W. Dodge & Co., New York
Fish Stories (Pres. David Starr Jordan and C. F. Holder.....H. Holt
& Co., New York
The Game Fishes of the Pacific Coast....The Dodge Publishing Co.,
New York
The Recreations of a Sportsman.....G. P. Putnam Sons, New York
Life in the Open in Southern California....G. P. Putnam Sons, N. Y.
Big Game at Sea.....The Outing Co., New York
The Log of a Sea Angler.....Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston
The Life of Louis Agassiz.....G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York
The Adventures of Torqua.....Little, Brown & Co., Boston
The Luminous Animals and Plants (Living Lights)..Chas' Scribner's
Sons, New York
Elements of Zoölogy.....The American Book Co., New York
A Strange Company.....D. Lothrop & Co., Boston
Stories of Nature.....Dodd, Mead & Co., New York
An Isle of Summer.....R. Y. McBride, Los Angeles, Cal.
The Game Fishes of the World.....Hodder & Stoughton, London



GEORGE FOX

From the Swarthmore Painting by Lely

The Quakers

in

Great Britain and America

The
Religious and Political History of the Society
of Friends from the Seventeenth to
the Twentieth Century

TWO VOLUMES IN ONE

By
CHARLES FREDERICK HOLDER, LL. D.
Author of "The Pioneer Quakers," "The Life of Agassiz," "Life
and Work of Charles Darwin," "The Channel Islands
of California," "Leading American
Men of Science," Etc.

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1913

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To
MRS. RUSSELL SAGE
Philanthropist

Descendant of
The Pioneer Quaker Ministers
Christopher Holder and Peleg Slocum
The Quaker Governor Wanton of Rhode Island
and of
Captain Miles Standish

PREFACE

There is a dearth of purely historical works written during the period of the early Quaker activities in the Seventeenth Century, or from 1645 to 1700, though there are seemingly endless pamphlets and papers relating to the purely doctrinal, religious, or controversial side of Quakerism.

This being the case, the modern historian or student draws much of his authentic information from such sources as the Journal of George Fox, Sewell, the Dutch historian of the Quakers, Bowden, Besse, Bishop's "New England Judged," a few others, and the vagrant historical data obtained from monographs, pamphlets, letters, records of meetings, etc., collected by indefatigable workers in Devonshire House, London, and the various Historical Societies of Friends, and by college and private libraries in both countries. There are a number of eminent modern works devoted to various periods and phases of Quakerism, its distinguished men and women, the philosophy and mysticism of the subject, and its various religious phases and controversial episodes, all appealing to the student or historian or the reader of history. But neither in England nor America have I found a popularly written, well illustrated, condensed history of Quakerism as a whole, from the birth of George Fox to approximately 1913, in one volume.

It is this desideratum that I have attempted, or hoped in some measure to supply. I am aware that it is much more difficult to make a successful or useful book of this sort than a history like that of Besse or Sewell, which contains

the minute details of the subject. I am also aware that my sense of proportion and of values may not meet the approbation of some, as consistent and perfect condensation is more or less a science in itself; but I have endeavored to put myself in the place of a reader hunting in a library for the brief essentials of Quakerism, as I found myself in the British Museum library in 1910, and have made my own demands and necessities my guide for better or for worse.

I have attempted to make a history, eliminating or condensing what I conceive to be the non-essentials in such a work (features of importance and interest, which have been ably treated in special works easily available). I have endeavored to prepare a history for the masses, yet one in which the student or historian will find the essential facts of Quakerism without having to refer to interminable works and pamphlets scattered over America and England, in very few libraries in the United States outside of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and certain schools and colleges, as Haverford, Swarthmore and others.

To illustrate. I have mentioned but briefly the Hicksite separation, as the subject is fully treated in many works and in the *Life of Elias Hicks*. Nor have I gone into the minutiae of the Joseph John Gurney schism about which a volume could be written. In a word, I have hoped to present a popularly written condensed history of the Quakers, yet covering a wide range. In the treatment of the subject I have emphasized, but not unduly, the political aspects of the moral conquest by the Quakers, and have briefly carried along their relations to the various reigning monarchs and rulers of the time — Charles the Second,

James, William and Mary, the Georges, Queen Victoria, and Washington in America. Hence certain aspects of English political history have been related as they were germane to the story of Quakerism.

The average citizen or reader has a very faint idea of the profound influence Quakers have had in the evolution of Christianity during the last two and a half centuries in England and America, though it is a fact that there are few colonial American families in New York, Philadelphia or Boston that have not a Quaker branch or forebear.

The Quakers were the pioneers in 1656 in every dominant reform normal men and women are fighting for in 1913. In the midst of one of the most profligate reigns England had ever seen George Fox called a halt in tones that echoed around the world. My fifth great grandfather, Edward Gove, of Hampton, New Hampshire, in 1683 headed a rebellion against Governor Canfield charging him with what is known to-day as "graft." John Fiske, the historian, says: "An arrogant and thieving ruler had goaded New Hampshire to acts of insurrection." Heading an insurrection in the name of morality and honor in 1683 was treason, and Edward Gove was sentenced to death. This was changed to three years in the Tower of London and confiscation of property. Thus the Quakers fought "graft" and special privilege in America in 1683. George Fox spoke in public for temperance in 1650. He denounced slavery and all the immoralities of the time. Christopher Holder demanded arbitration in place of war in 1660, political and religious freedom, and there is not a great moral reform from capital punishment to the equality of women, or the freedom of slaves to civic righteousness, worked for to-day

by organized forces, that the Quakers had not thought of, and were demanding from the housetops two hundred and fifty years ago. They fought and died for the simple life, morality and virtue. Such lives should not be forgotten, should be known to the people of to-day who are enjoying the religious liberty the early Quakers fought and died for.

In the preparation of this work I have consulted the colonial records of America and all available and essential data in England. That relating to Christopher Holder, the fourth great grandfather of Mrs. Russell Sage, is here given for the first time in full, and was collected by tracing the movements of the pioneers through Massachusetts in 1656 to 1690 by the Colonial Records. I have consulted most of the Friends' books, papers and manuscripts in America and England of value in this particular connection, and I am deeply indebted to Besse, Sewell, Bowden and other historians of the early days. My thanks are due to Norman Penney, the librarian of Devonshire House, for many courtesies, to the librarian of the British Museum during my work there, and to the Boston library, rich in Quaker books. I am particularly indebted to Mrs. Godfrey Locker Lampson, author of the "Post Bag," by Longmans Green & Company, for her kind permission to copy a letter of William Penn and one from the Quaker botanist, Thomas Lawson. I am also under deep obligations to R. Barry O'Brien, Esq., author of a life of John Bright, for permitting me to use the data relating to John Bright, written especially, he tells me, for him, by Lord Eversley, who served under the great English Quaker in the government.

In this volume I have used two Quakers, or in one instance a descendant of notable Quakers, John Bright and

Mrs. Russell Sage, to illustrate the profound influence of Quakerism in England and America, and my cordial thanks are due the latter for many courtesies and much important data relating to her Quaker ancestry. I am dedicating the volume to her, with her permission, as a slight indication of appreciation of her work in the physical, intellectual and moral uplift of the nation as witnessed in the development of the Sage Foundation. I wish to express my obligations to Mr. David S. Taber, of the New York Friends Book and Tract Committee, for many kind attentions, and to the sons of the late Wm. H. S. Wood for permission to use his pamphlet on the Friends of New York. My thanks are also due to the Friends Historical Reference Library of London, and to the Historical Society of Philadelphia; to the late Albert K. Smiley of the Mohonk Conference for data, to Dr. Augustine Jones, to Miss Sarah Hacker of the Lynn Historical Society, and to Elizabeth B. Emmot of England. My warm thanks are due to Professor Sylvanus Thompson, the biographer of Lord Kelvin, and to the Honorable T. Edmund Harvey, M. P. My acknowledgments are presented to the Friends Historical Society of Philadelphia for several illustrations, and to the Friends Tract Association of London for pictures of early Friends, to Headley Bros., who published them, and I have especially to thank the Friends Historical Society of London for the quaint illustrations of ancient Friends meeting-houses, from the brush of Dr. Pole, appearing in the Journal Supplement, the text by Edmund Tolson Wedmore, with notes by Norman Penney. I also wish to express my great indebtedness to William A. Wing, Curator of the Dartmouth Museum of New Bedford, for the letter

of Christopher Holder, his ancestor, bearing his signature, the only one of the kind in existence, and for valuable historical pamphlets and brochures on Old Dartmouth, Peleg Slocum, and others.

CHARLES F. HOLDER
Pasadena, Los Angeles Co., Cal.
January 1, 1913.

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Book I

THE QUAKERS
IN GREAT BRITAIN

“Now I see there is a people risen up
that I cannot win either with gifts, honours,
offices or places, but all other sects and
people I can.”

OLIVER CROMWELL.

CHAPTER I.

RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN ENGLAND PREVIOUS TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

All the profound social, political, or ecclesiastical revolutionary movements which have taken place during historic times, have been the direct outcome of some deep-seated, fundamental cause. New systems of government have been established as the result of the waning patience of the masses under misrule, countless religious beliefs have come into being on the crest of tidal waves of disaffection or disappointment, and kingdoms have crumbled or risen under the iron hand of intolerance or the rigid justice of conscious right.

The crushing of the first Reformation in the attack of the Crusaders on the Albigenian churches; the great Reformation and the establishment of Protestantism, are illustrations, and the story of the rise of Protestantism in Great Britain is a fascinating and constant lure to the reader and lover of history.

It is difficult to realize as one wanders through England with its splendid architectural monuments, that they originated in a time marked by a low moral tone. It is not necessary to reach far back into history before we plunge into this black cloud of ignorance, intolerance and superstition. We see it on the horizon of the fifteenth century.

At this time, when men worshipped in ecclesiastical palaces, not one penitent in a thousand understood the words of the priest. The devout Christian who could read

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an English translation of a psalm was the exception [Macaulay's estimate is one in five hundred]. Printing was practically unknown. Copies of the Bible were so rare that comparatively few priests could own one, while thousands of laymen had never seen the book. Such were the conditions in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when the world was controlled by the few. It was an epoch of intellectual darkness and material splendor, broken by vagrant rays of light. It is a self-evident fact, we see it to our shame even to-day, that the masses will not, cannot, throw off their bondage so long as they are kept ignorant.

The beams of light, the rays of promise that penetrated the gloom of the ante-Quaker time, were men of extraordinary intelligence who suddenly appeared on the forum of Christian endeavor. In the fourteenth century such a one was John Wycliffe, who amazed the world by arraigning the Pope as anti-Christ. A man might as well have signed his own death warrant. But Wycliffe persisted, and not the least of his acts was the English translation of the Bible.

Reformers increased from this time on, and we see the Reformation during the reign of Henry VIII and the sustained movement against the power of the Roman Church. Twenty years previous to the accession of Elizabeth, William Tyndale published a revised and improved Bible in English, and protested against the extraordinary liberties taken with it. After the Reformation new religious zealots appeared demanding that the Episcopal Church should be purged of the papal characteristics which were still retained, and they became known as Puritans. In 1559 came the Act of Uniformity and the establishment of the use of the

revised prayer book. The so-called Puritans threw off all adherence to the established church, and despite the attempts of the church to prevent them, aided by the Queen and Parliament and the Act of Uniformity, they deserted it, formed a body of their own, established so-called Presbyters instead of Bishops, and founded Presbyterianism.

All these vital and momentous changes were elements of unrest. Ignorance and superstition were slowly giving way, as from time to time some brilliant mind appeared to move the intellectual status of the time a step ahead. New religious parties sprang up everywhere. The Anabaptists, the antecedents of the Baptists and Congregationalists, died in many cases for their convictions, and the man who declared for freedom of conscience invited death, or worse. The divine right of kings held in these days, and unwillingly the numerous religious anti-state and church movements of the period became the initial shoots of Democracy. The world had been asleep for centuries, drugged by those in power. As the trainer of lions drugs the big cats and fearlessly enters the cage, so the potentates of state and church stupefied the masses with the lethe of ignorance, lived in sensuous luxury, surrounded by extraordinary magnificence, pomp and display, hypnotizing or convincing millions into the belief that they were rulers and masters to be worshipped by Divine authority. It is almost beyond comprehension that the intellectual evolution of the world was checked for centuries in this manner, at once absurd and pitiful.

But progress was only held in abeyance. It could not be stopped though desperate means were taken, and more blood was shed by alleged Christians in insisting upon certain

forms of Christianity than in many of the wars of history. Advanced thinkers, Dissenters, as they were called, were persecuted, driven to Holland and other lands, and in 1620 we see a number, including Captain Miles Standish, in desperation sailing for America on the ship "Mayflower."

It is interesting to note that the avowed object of some of them was religious liberty, though not possibly religious freedom as we understand the term to-day. Yet they denied it to those who followed them in ensuing years. Previous to this, in 1603 James I. succeeded to the throne of England, and notable events followed. In 1611 the authorized version of the Bible appeared, and due to different interpretations, scores of sects and bodies were born, denounced, hounded, persecuted, destroyed. The world was awakening. But James I. threw the weight of his influence upon the side of what the Liberals considered the formalism of the Roman Church existent in the national church of England. He was a religious despot and failed to realize the smouldering fires beneath his feet. He stood for Absolutism in the church and state and attempted by force to smother the growing demands for liberty of conscience.

Equally blind to the distinct and ominous shadows on the wall, Charles I., who succeeded him in 1625, became the standard bearer of his father's policies. Of all the Stuart kings Charles was the best, so far as his private life was concerned, but blind to the signs of the times, he practically signed his death warrant by hounding the advanced thinkers, always widening the breach between the established church and the Puritans and other Dissenters. George Fox was an infant on his accession, and in the following period, we see notable, impressive and significant figures appearing on

the stage, marshaling for the tragedies of coming years. Sir Thomas Wentworth, later Lord Strafford, Sir John Elliott, Archbishop Laud, Pym, Hampden and Oliver Cromwell, the latter entering the Long Parliament in 1640 when he was forty-one years of age, a friend of the future Quakers, compared to many other rulers of England.

The obstinate stand of Charles I. for what he termed the Divine Right of Kings to determine among other things the religion of the people, was the menace of the first quarter of the seventeenth century in Great Britain. The martial tone of the nation was low, the subject of greatest importance was religion; as seemingly it was the best means by which the masses could be controlled and held in leash by a play upon their fears, ignorance and superstition. The King in his determination to force the religion of his church upon the disciples of Knox, appealed to Parliament, convening one after the other.

This pre-Quaker period of England was the era which was preparing men for an existence similar to that enjoyed by people to-day. It was so pronounced a page in the history of the world that it can well be termed the Religious Renaissance of England. It was the turning of the tides, and Cromwell was to be the civic and military leader. No more interesting era can be found in English history than this, which has been food for philosophers and historians ever since, Charles I. running amuck politically, drunk with the preposterous idea of the Divine Right of Kings, Bishop Laud leading his forces as a general in the army of the church, Protestantism at a low ebb in Germany, the Calvinists and Lutherans of North Germany and Denmark losing ground daily, all discouraging features to the insurgents or Puritans.

On the other hand, Sir John Elliott and John Pym were fighting the king in Parliament, striving to make the House of Commons or the people the authority. The Petition of Right, the Star Chamber, the arrest of Elliott, his confinement in the Tower, his death, Laud's labors to secure ecclesiastical absolutism as the puppet of the king, all stand out as stepping-stones in this mighty struggle to crush liberty and the rights of man, and to stem the flood of intellectual advancement. The English and Scotch were still terrified by the ghost of Catholicism which stalked across the moors. They had not forgotten that "bloody Queen Mary" had handed over the kingdom to Rome on her accession, and they clung to the doctrines of Calvin with a fervor that found expression when Laud attempted to introduce the formalities of the English Church into Scotland.

Following came the so-called "Bishops Wars," and always the King and his bishops preaching the same doctrine and forcing it upon the angered people. At the head of the Anglican church sat the King, a pseudo divinity in his own right, insisting upon the various forms inherited from Rome, which were so many red rags to the Dissenters. The King insisted upon having his consecrated bishops, who believed in apostolic succession, upon his priests and their methods, in fact, the shell of Catholicism and its varied appurtenances.

All this the Dissenters denounced with growing fervor and ferocity. They depised the so-called idolatrous forms and rites, as those of the Papists *en masque*, and as we have seen, drew their swords, and under the banner of the Independents carried the day.

Following the downfall of Charles and his execution the

Presbyterians came into full power. They established so-called liberty of conscience, and affirmed to all men the right to worship God as they saw fit. If this had been really accomplished by these iconoclasts there would have been but little use for future agitators or missionaries; but the Dissenters lost their heads; too much power demoralized them, and we find them gradually, and perhaps unconsciously, falling into the same errors for which they had beheaded Charles the First, and the same mistakes the Puritans made in America later on. Instead of permitting full liberty of conscience they began to urge that their own interpretation of the Bible was the only one to be accepted, and then to insist upon its observance. This naturally resulted in a new body of Dissenters. This extraordinary attitude reached a climax when Cromwell was in Scotland with his army. They controlled Parliament and enacted laws which were as unjust and unreasonable as any uttered by Charles the First or James. One specified that any one who should continue to refuse to acknowledge or accept any one of the eight articles of Faith, should be sent to the block; and if certain sixteen other specified articles were rejected, the heretic should be imprisoned. Not only this, these fanatical Dissenters conceived and perpetuated an act for the religious conduct of all the churches of England and Ireland called "A Form of Church Government." At his very worst James or Charles hardly exceeded this. As a natural course, the extreme Presbyterians became so intolerant that the more intelligent of their own party and others of the Independents rose against them, and with Cromwell at their head, drove them from power.

CHAPTER II.

QUAKERISM—WHAT IT IS

With the House of Commons controlled by the Independents, the King defeated at Naseby in the second Civil War and at last executed, and the commonwealth under Cromwell, Great Britain seemed assured of a new era of political and religious liberty. A signal advance had been made, but the country was by no means at peace. It possessed what of all the great nations it had never had, a standing army, one of the most remarkable bodies of men that ever bore arms; an army of preachers recruited from the ranks of those who had been fighting against the established Church, its dogmas, the Divine Right of Kings, and all that went with the elements of barbarism, ignorance and superstition.

The men were soldiers armed *cap-a-pie*, the most effective army any nation had ever seen; yet each man was a religious enthusiast, a psalm-singing protagonist of the principle of religious freedom; an expounder who did not fail on all occasions to present his doctrines and enforce them, if necessary, with the sword and pike. They were commanded by Oliver Cromwell, one of England's greatest men, who represented the intelligence and sturdy qualities of the parties which for years had been fighting, dying, suffering martyrdom for liberty. Carlyle tells us that Cromwell was the last of an atrocious system. He says that Puritanism, or the Cromwellian era, was the "last glimpse of the godlike vanishing from England; conviction and

veracity giving place to hollow cant and formalism. . . . The last of all our Heroisms." . . . But I consider Cromwell the first of a new system that finds to-day its expression in the United States where all men are equal before the law.

England had made the most stupendous step forward in her history. The people with a violent wrench had thrown off the policy of ignorance and suppression which had enslaved them, and the equilibrium of the nation had been disturbed by a heavy blow. The doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings had been shattered on the block of King Charles. The common people had asserted their rights, but it was evident that to sustain themselves it would be a life and death struggle, as the Royalists without a king, the old nobility without representation in the Lords, the Episcopalians and Romanists without votes or representation of any sort, would always be a menace on the civic and ecclesiastical horizon.

The King was dead, but the Royalists were scheming for office. The nation at one step had become a military garrison. The Catholic Church and the Church of England still existed and were conducted with certain rites extremely distasteful to the masses. In foreign countries the conduct of state affairs was a royal pageant, and the world appeared to be given over to sensuous enjoyment and display. This was particularly noticeable in 1645-7 or about the time of the King's defeat at Naseby. The Cavaliers lived the lives of princes; even the priests and bishops upheld their offices with magnificent form, and luxurious living found among the nobles its maximum license.

Amidst all this, out of a clear sky and with clarion note, came a cry of Halt! For years among the Dissenters, or Puritans, and seemingly countless parties, it had been noticed that a number of men and women of high intelligence and generally of good family, had held extreme views on the conduct of affairs. These men and women found an exponent in the personality of one George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, who began to preach in public in 1647, two years before the execution of Charles the First. Fox has been termed a mystic, and the Quakers mystics. They have been surrounded with a fog-bank of misunderstanding by ignorant critics, writers and historians. But there was nothing peculiar about these people except that, like Cromwell, they were two hundred and fifty years ahead of the age in which they lived. They had the temerity to attempt to introduce in 1647 the general ideas of morality accepted in 1913, and Fox pleaded for a return to simple and primitive Christianity.

Fox and his friends (they called themselves Friends possibly because the Bible exhorted men to love one another) created a sensation, as they boldly denounced the frivolities of the day and preached a totally different life and religion, which, very briefly, may be described as an intelligent attempt to follow the example of Christ as set forth in the New Testament; not on the Sabbath alone, but to carry Christian methods into their affairs, and into the conduct of life every day in the week. In a word, religion to them was not a matter of churches, pageants, sacraments, cathedrals, forms, titles and armed men to enforce it, but a following in the footsteps of Jesus Christ.

The Friends under the leadership of George Fox were

convinced that it was their duty to call a halt, and warn the whole world that it was straying from the real essence of the Christian religion. To say that they created a sensation but faintly describes it, but the reader will appreciate the situation when he or she remembers that the new interpretation of Christianity announced, was practically that of to-day and was preached to an ignorant, licentious and superstitious people.

The Quakers were considered mad men and fanatics of a dangerous type because they demanded a return to a simple conduct of life. They illustrated their point by dressing simply and living in a manner that would not excite the envy of their poorer neighbors. They announced that they purposed to fight for the perpetuation of their principles, but to battle under the banner of eternal peace. Their sword was the blade of passive resistance; their flag the life example of the meek and lowly Saviour of men.

No set of men and women filled with the enthusiasm of what they believed to be a God-given idea, ever met with such a reception outside of the Inquisition, yet these Quakers were ahead of their time in intelligence, moral advancement and civic righteousness. There is scarcely a great question of the nineteenth or twentieth centuries that has filled the public eye as a momentous reform, that was not a part of the alleged crimes of these patriots of the seventeenth century. *They demanded arbitration two hundred and fifty years ago. They labored for the political freedom of man in 1647. They gave their women equal rights two and a half centuries before women secured the right to vote in an American state. They denounced war as legalized murder and a remnant of barbarism, and in 1648 advocated the*

methods of peace for which Andrew Carnegie and the American Peace Society are working to-day.

The Quakers of the seventeenth century denounced slavery and worked for its downfall two hundred and sixty years before Abraham Lincoln, a descendant of the Quakers, signed the proclamation of freedom in America. There is hardly a great reform to-day but was anticipated by these members of the Society of Friends, in derision called Quakers by an ignorant justice in 1650, whose sole qualification for fame lies in the fact that this term of opprobrium (now a badge of honor) has survived the ages.

It required a brave man to announce these views in 1647. It required a man with a God-given courage of his convictions. Such a man was George Fox. It is a singular fact that, while Fox was denounced, imprisoned, described as insane and a fanatic, his sole crime, when reduced to the essentials, was that he was asking the people of England to return to the "simple life" that is preached in all the churches of the civilized world in the twentieth century.

All the criticism of the Quakers and of George Fox is silenced by the fact that Quakerism accomplished the reform intended. It awakened the nations of the world. It spurred and quickened the national conscience at one bound; it established a philosophy based on intellectual and moral achievement, and became a protagonist for all that is best in religious life to-day.

Before following in the footsteps of George Fox and noting the evolution of his idea and its effect upon the world, it is necessary to glance at the doctrine he taught, which caused so marked a sensation in England and aroused an animosity which found expression in a martyrdom hardly creditable.

If mysticism is, as James Freeman Clark says, "the belief that man can come into union with the Infinite by means of a wholly passive surrender to divine influence," then George Fox was an English mystic. Emerson says in one of his essays: "I desire and look up and put myself in the attitude of reception."

I recall my youth in a notable New England Friends community established by Christopher Holder in 1656-7. The impression I obtained was that other sects depended upon the church and its forms, upon ministers who were paid to perform their duties, and that men had much to do with dictating what was right or wrong by the appointment of judges, etc. But the Friends apparently did not require outside instruction. As a child I often attended meetings where a congregation of two or three hundred sat silent an hour and a half and were supposed to think, a season of self analysis. It was believed that rational intelligent beings were susceptible to the influence of God or religion, and if they held their passions in check, if they avoided vice, if they followed closely the Commandments and the advice of Christ as to their conduct of life, they would receive wisdom from God as an "inward light."

We read much of this light. Books and pamphlets have been written on it; hundreds of men and women have expounded it, and the result has been that the very simple religious belief of the Quakers has often been lost in a sea of conjecture and mysticism, so far as aliens are concerned.

As I remember the religion of the Quakers in the nineteenth century it was the "simple life," the example of Christ. In plain words, the followers of Fox made a strenuous attempt to plan their lives on the doctrines of

the New Testament. They endeavored to live like Christians *every hour*, and to see that their fellows did the same.

This, unquestionably, was the Quaker doctrine of Fox divested of the incredible assemblage of words and sentences that apparently was necessary in expounding in the seventeenth century whether the preacher was Quaker or Puritan, Presbyterian or Baptist. This was Joseph John Gurney's interpretation. He says: "I should not describe it (Quakerism) as the system so elaborately wrought out by Barclay; the doctrines or maxims of Penn, or the deep refined views of Pennington. I should call it the religion of the New Testament of the Lord Jesus Christ without diminution, without addition and without compromise."

All the works ever written on Quakerism, in my estimation, do not present a better or more concise definition of the life work and central idea of George Fox than this.

The Quakers made no parade of religion. "The inner light" was the conscience quickened by spiritual communion, which elevated thoughts, aims and desires, self analysis and the elimination of the impure. In other words, the Friends thought good, and received, as any man or woman can who has the intelligence to discern the difference between good and evil, "the peace which passeth all understanding."

I am particularly desirous to present the essentials of Quaker doctrine without the confusion and ambiguity that has surrounded it, and which has often made it unintelligible. The unthinking public is inclined to grasp at "taking terms," "the inner light," "the moving of the spirit" and "quaking," totally misconstruing the real conception and embroiling the simple meaning in worse than confusion.

The Quaker believed that God was omnipresent and that He "revealed himself to every man through the light of Christ in the heart." When they speak of light (and it is a favorite word,) they mean the spiritual light, the awakening, intellectually and spiritually, that every man has during the contemplation of the Infinite. It was a mental and spiritual illumination which quickened the senses and made men and women better. When they sat in their silent meetings thinking of the goodness of the Creator, endeavoring perhaps to purge their hearts of sin, or thoughts of evil, the voice of God, "the light within" seemed to speak to them and they were inspired to speak or to preach. Many philosophers have devoted books and time to the interpretation of this "inner light" of the early Quakers, but it finds its analogue in the conscience of good men and pure women responding to an effectual attempt at right living, right thinking.

The Japanese have a most effective and amusing method of teaching moral precepts. It consists of a group of three monkeys. One holds his hand over his eyes; another to his mouth; another stops his ears. The explanation is: see no evil, speak no evil, hear no evil. This ivory or bronze trinity should be in every home. The old Quakers endeavored to see no evil, to speak no evil, and to hear no evil, and they were aided in this consummation by the "inner light" of a clear conscience. The pith of the Quaker doctrine was the saving power of the inner light, which was the example of Christ, and which was sure to illumine those who followed His footsteps. There was nothing obscure about it. It was the simple life of the Savior to be followed. If a man was good, God dwelt in him. Fox frequently said: "To that of

God in you I speak.” “I direct men to the light of Christ in their hearts.”

It is easy to recognize the beauty, the charm, indeed the fascination this idea of an inner light had for the followers of George Fox. They believed, yes, knew, that they were in touch with the Giver of all things, and that the light which illumined their souls was the word of the living God. It is little wonder that George Fox was exalted and his converts went into the highways and entered churches to carry the message to the world, or that they went to their death smiling at their murderers, or lay in jail, returning when discharged again and yet again to the non-resistant warfare. A finer religious conception never took possession of man, and his mission was to make it real and actual, a daily, hourly thing to all nations and to all men. Something inconceivably precious to them was their message that God spoke not to the saints, ministers, priests, the apostles alone, but to the soul of every man, woman or child willing to listen. This was the light that never failed, never grew dim in the heart of Friends.

The Quaker ministers, it is said, waited in the meetings until the “spirit moved.” The facts are, they were not paid ministers; they were not supposed to prepare their sermons in advance, but went to the meeting in a state of receptive mentality. They sat in the silence of the meeting until they felt that they had something to say, then rose and said it, whether it was the quotation of a Biblical verse, or a sermon, or prayer.

“And so I find it well to come
For deeper rest to this still room,
For here the habit of the soul

Feels less the outer world control;
The strength of mutual purpose pleads
More earnestly our common needs;
And from the silence multiplied
By these still forms on either side,
The world that time and sense have known
Falls off and leaves us God alone.
So to the calmly gathered thought
The innermost of truth is taught,
The mystery, dimly understood,
That love of God is love of good;
That Book and Church and Day are given
For man, not God,—for earth not heaven;
The blessed means to holiest ends,
Not masters, but benignant friends;
That the dear Christ dwells not afar,
The King of some remoter star,
Listening, at times, with flattered ear
To homage wrung from selfish fear,
But here, amidst the poor and blind,
The bound and suffering of our kind;
In works we do, in prayers we pray,
Life of our life, he lives today."

Whittier.

The varied interpretations of the Bible have resulted in hundreds of sects and religions. Some believe in immersion, some in sprinkling. To the Catholic church, form, vestment is essential to catch and impress the eye with the splendor of the religion it represents. So we find George Fox astonishing the seventeenth century with his interpretation of the Bible, at once startling and revolutionary. What the church of England and of Rome took literally he conceived in a spiritual sense, and briefly, the dearth of every possible form in the Quaker meeting. The lack of baptismal fonts,

the bread and wine of communion and other features signifies that the Quakers interpreted these things as meant in a spiritual sense. They read the life of Christ, studied the New and Old Testaments diligently, accepted Christ as sent to redeem the world and copied his methods as nearly as they could.

The first Declaration of Faith by Quakers was drawn up by Christopher Holder, believed to be the ancestor of the New England Holders. It was written in Boston jail in 1657 and signed by Holder and his fellow prisoners John Copeland and Richard Doudney.

CHRISTOPHER HOLDER'S DECLARATION OF FAITH.

"A Declaration of Faith, and an exhortation to Obedience thereto, issued by Christopher Holder, John Copeland and Richard Doudney, while in Prison at Boston in New England, 1657.

"Whereas, it is reported by them that have not a bridle to their tongues, that we, who are by the world called Quakers, are blasphemers, heretics and deceivers; and that we do deny the Scriptures, and the truth therein contained; therefore, we, who are here in prison, shall in a few words, in truth and plainness, declare unto all people that may see this, the ground of our religion, and the faith that we contend for, and the cause wherefore we suffer.

"Therefore, when you read our words, let the meek spirit bear rule and weigh them in the equal balance, and stand out of prejudice, in the light that judgeth all things, and measureth and manifesteth all things.

"As (for us) we do believe in the only true and living God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath made the

heavens and the earth, the sea and all things in them contained, and doth uphold all things that he hath created by the word of his power. Who, at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in times past to our fathers, by the prophets, but in these last days he hath spoken unto us, by his Son, whom he hath made heir of all things, by whom he made the world. The which Son is that Jesus Christ that was born of the Virgin; who suffered for our offenses, and is risen again for our justification, and is ascended into the highest heavens, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father. Even in him do we believe, who is the only begotten Son of the Father, full of grace and truth. And in him do we trust alone for salvation; by whose blood we are washed from sin; through whom we have access to the Father with boldness, being justified by faith in believing in his name. Who hath sent forth the Holy Ghost, to wit, the Spirit of Truth, that proceedeth from the Father and the Son; by which we are sealed and adopted sons and heirs of the kingdom of heaven. From the which Spirit the Scriptures of truth were given forth, as, saith the Apostle Peter, 'Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.' The which were written for our admonition on whom the ends of the world are come; and are profitable for the man of God, to reprove, and to exhort, and to admonish, as the Spirit of God bringeth them unto him, and openeth them in him, and giveth him the understanding of them.

"So that before all (men) we do declare that we do believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, according as they are (declared of in the) Scriptures; and the Scriptures we own to be a true declaration of the Father, Son, and Spirit; in (which) is declared what was in the beginning, what was present, and was to come.

“Therefore, all (ye) people in whom honesty is, stand still and consider. Believe not them that say, Report, and we will report it—that say, Come, let us smite them with the tongue; but try all things and hold fast that which is good. Again we say, take heed of believing and giving credit to reports; for know that the truth was spoken against, and they that lived in it were, in all ages of the world, hated, persecuted and imprisoned, under the names of heretics, blasphemers, and”—

Here part of the paper is torn off, and it can only be known, by an unintelligible shred, that fourteen lines are lost. We read again as follows:

“That sheweth you the secrets of your hearts, and the deeds that are not good. Therefore, while you have light, believe in the light, that ye may be children of the light; for, as you love it and obey it, it will lead you to repentance, bring you to know Him in whom is remission of sins, in whom God is well pleased; who will give you an entrance into the kingdom of God, an inheritance amongst them that are sanctified. For this is the desire of our souls for all that have the least breathings after God, that they may come to know Him in deed and in truth, and find His power in and with them, to keep them from falling, and to present them faultless before the throne of his glory; who is the strength and life of all them that put their trust in Him; who upholdeth all things by the word of his power; who is God over all, blessed forever, Amen.

“Thus we remain friends to all that fear the Lord; who are sufferers, not for evil doing, but for bearing testimony to the truth, in obedience to the Lord God of life; unto whom we commit our cause; who is risen to plead the cause of the

innocent, and to help him that hath no help on the earth; who will be avenged on all his enemies, and will repay the proud doers.

“Christopher Holder,

“John Copeland,

“Richard Doudney,

“From the House of Correction the 1st of the Eight Month, 1657, in Boston.”

This Declaration was written under the stress of terrible suffering and martyrdom, the prisoners being beaten, and Holder having an ear cut off. The Declaration was doubtless issued in answer to some charge that the missionaries were Roman Catholics, Idolators or worse.

CHAPTER III.

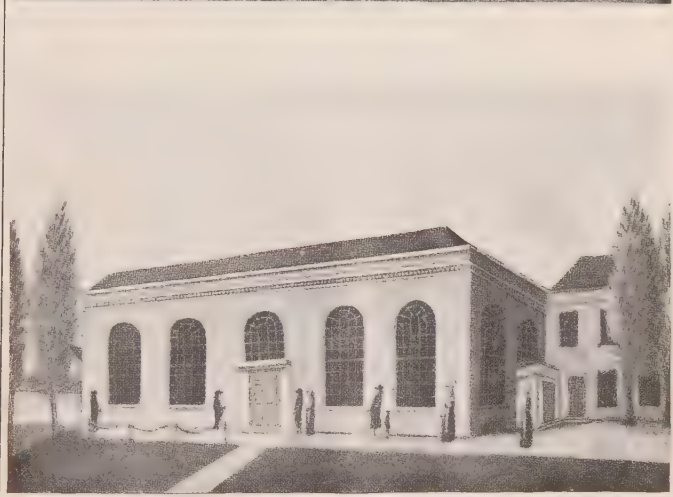
GEORGE FOX, THE FOUNDER OF QUAKERISM

1624-1691

Every century in historic times has been marked by the appearance of some striking personality, who has stood alone as the protagonist of a dominant principle. It may have been some profound genius in the arts, in music, sculpture, philanthropy, finance, war, peace, religion or philosophy. Names readily suggest themselves: Hillel, Confucius, Caesar, Cicero, Napoleon, Calvin, Luther, Savonarola, Saint Augustine, Mozart, Cromwell, Darwin, Huxley, Washington, Lincoln, Roosevelt, Carnegie.

In the seventeenth century George Fox was such a figure; a religious enthusiast, the leader who rebuked the frivolities of the world; who endeavored to arrest its decadence, and who incidentally founded the Society of Friends, better known as Quakers. It is interesting to note the various estimates of his intellectual status. James Freeman Clark, an American historian, says: "Fox, judged by his writings, was a man of poor intellect; narrow, meagre, without the least touch of fancy or imagination. It was by the depth and concentration of his mind, not by any mental affluence, that he accomplished so much."

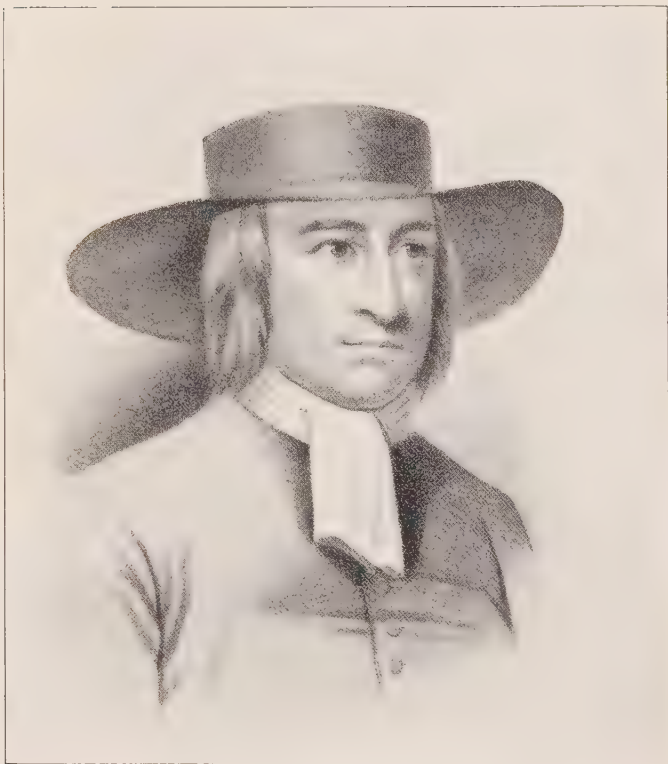
Bancroft considers that George Fox produced a philosophy of the highest standard, ranking it with the doctrines of Plato and Descartes whose intellectual status will scarcely be questioned. Bancroft compared the ideas of the Quaker with those in the "profound eloquence of Rousseau," "the



OLD ENGLISH MEETING HOUSES

Leominster (Upper)

Tewkesburg (1823)



GEORGE FOX
From the Chinn Painting

masculine philosophy of Kant," and "the poetry of Schiller, Coleridge, Lamartine and Wordsworth;" hence he saw both fancy and imagination in the religious philosophy of the great Quaker. There is scarcely a foul epithet known in the language that was not applied to George Fox by his enemies and those who feared him. Many cheerful critics in 1650, and from then until 1690, consoled themselves with the thought that he was an idiot; yet not harmless, and to be crushed, as he had an extraordinary following recruited from the ranks of England's best citizens.

William Penn, the son of Sir Admiral William Penn, was a notable illustration. William Penn's impression of George Fox is interesting. He says:

"I write by knowledge and not report, and my witness is true, having been with him for weeks and months together. . . and that by night and by day, by sea and by land, in this and foreign countries; and I can say I never saw him out of his place, or not a match for every occasion.

"He was of an innocent life, no busy-body, nor self-seeker, neither touchy nor critical. So meek, contented, modest, easy, steady, tender, it was a pleasure to be in his company. A most merciful man, as ready to forgive as unapt to take or give offense.

"He had an extraordinary gift in opening the Scriptures. / But above all he excelled in prayer—the most reverent frame I ever felt or beheld, I must say, was his in prayer—and truly it was a testimony, he knew and lived nearer to the Lord than other men; for they that know Him most will see most reason to approach Him with reverence and fear."

"In all things," Penn adds, "he acquitted himself like a man, yea, a strong man, a new and heavenly-minded man.

A divine, and a Naturalist, and all of God Almighty's making."

Among Friends Thomas Ellwood was one of the most advanced and intellectual of the early converts; a man of high culture and a good judge of men. He has left us his impression of George Fox in the following:

"I knew him not till the year 1660: from that time to the time of his death, I knew him well, conversed with him often, observed him much, loved him dearly, and honoured him truly; and upon good experience can say, he was indeed an heavenly-minded man, zealous for the name of the Lord, and preferred the honour of God before all things.

"He was valiant for the truth, bold in asserting it, patient in suffering for it, unwearied in labouring in it, steady in his testimony to it, immovable as a rock. Deep he was in divine knowledge, clear in opening heavenly mysteries, plain and powerful in preaching, fervent in prayer. He was richly endowed with heavenly wisdom, quick in discerning, sound in judgment, able and ready in giving, discreet in keeping counsel, a lover of righteousness, an encourager of virtue, justice, temperance, meekness, purity, chastity, modesty, humility, charity and self-denial in all, both by word and example. Graceful he was in countenance, manly in personage, grave in gesture, courteous in conversation, weighty in communication, instructive in discourse, free from affectation in speech and carriage. A severe reprover of hard and obstinate sinners, a mild and gentle admonisher of such as were tender, and sensible of their failings; not apt to resent personal wrongs; easy to forgive injuries; but zealous, earnest where the honour of God, the prosperity of truth, the peace of the church were concerned. Very tender, com-

passionate, and pitiful he was to all that were under any sort of affliction; full of brotherly love, full of fatherly care, for indeed the care of the churches of Christ was daily upon him, the prosperity and peace whereof he studiously sought. Beloved he was of God, beloved of God's people; and (which was not the least part of his honour) the common butt of all apostates' envy, whose good notwithstanding he earnestly sought."

Cromwell, unconsciously perhaps, paid a signal tribute to George Fox when he said, "Now I see there is a people risen that I cannot win with gifts, honours, offices or places; but all other sects and people I can." I might stop here and let these lines stand as the best definition of the results of Quakerism ever penned. They describe the Quakers in 1647; they describe them to-day in every land.

In appearance George Fox was a fine specimen of vigorous manhood. He was tall, athletic, with clean-cut features and eyes so brilliant and searching that more than once they brought out protests from those who could not withstand his "piercing gaze." George Fox had what is known to-day as personal magnetism, so seemingly essential to most public speakers. Blaine possessed it, Napoleon, Patrick Henry, Ingersoll and most of the great and successful leaders of all times. Not only this, George Fox had, to an extraordinary degree, the power of impressing his auditors, swaying them by his words, gestures, intonation or meaning. He filled them with religious enthusiasm, raised them to a high pinnacle of religious ecstasy or at will cast them into the abysmal deeps of mental distress.

The secret of his wonderful power was his familiarity with the Bible. When called on suddenly by troopers, when

preaching against war, he had all the Biblical authorities at his tongue's end. When sixty priests challenged him on disputed points he dumfounded them with the readiness of his replies, and judge, soldier, layman, priest, he met in the same way, crushing them by the unanswerable quality of his quotations. Not only this, he had an extraordinary faculty for presenting his facts and theories as telling, convincing and unanswerable arguments. He did not indulge in sophistry, but dealt out his warnings in heavy body blows which laid low the ignorant and captivated the sense of justice of the best educated men in England as well.

It must not be assumed that George Fox was merely a seventeenth century revivalist, as he scorned the mannerisms of the professional preacher. He believed that God had given him a message to the world, and it was his purpose to deliver it to the death. He was in no sense a protagonist of a new religion or sect. In all probability, he had no idea at first of creating a new and distinct cult. His sole object was to call the attention of all the world to the fact that their excesses, their rites, their wars, their killings, their sensuous pageants and splendors of living, their assumption of Divine rights to rule were fundamentally wrong. It is true that he became the founder of the Quakers, but it was an unforeseen result and he left this and the moulding of the philosophy and its formulation to other hands: Barclay of the "Apology," Penn, and others. He delivered the message, they took it up and prepared it for perpetuation down the long reaches of the ages.

George Fox came by his profound religious nature by inheritance. His father, Christopher Fox, of Drayton in Clay,

England, was intensely religious in a sane way, and George Fox tells us that his mother, of the family of Lagos, came from a stock of martyrs. All this left its impression on the son, who was born in the decade of Shakespeare's death, 1616, or 1624, the time of Bacon. There were few prominent men of the time who did not know him or had not received his advice or admonitions, which were addressed either in person or in writing, to every prominent ruler, from the Pope to Cromwell or the kings of France, and other countries.

At a very early age he attracted attention for his sedateness and dignity. In his Journal he says: "I knew purity and righteousness because I was taught how to walk so as to be kept pure." The child was born to his special mission. He was a religious enthusiast as truly as some children are born musicians, mathematicians or great artists. He had the faculty of concentration to a remarkable degree; he never lost sight of the main issue. This peculiarity is noticed in his Journal, "he hews to the line," and little outside of his religious experiences is found in this extraordinary work though he lived in one of the most interesting and tumultuous periods in English history. Freeman Clark refers to this and sees in it a reflection upon his intelligence. He says:

"He saw, or might have seen the rise, triumph, defeat, and reappearance of British Constitutional Liberty; the tyrannical acts of Charles I.; the resistance of Hampden; the English Revolution; the battles of Marston Moor and Naseby; the Long Parliament; the protectorates of Cromwell and his son; the Restoration of Charles II.; the reign of James II.; and the Revolution of 1688. All occurred under his eyes,

and he does not seem to have noticed any of them.* He was a contemporary of Milton, Jeremy Taylor, Tillotson, Locke, Newton, Leibnitz, but you would never know from his writings that such men had existed. With their work he had nothing to do, but his own work he did nobly. In an age of speculative religion, of opinion and profession, he taught the need of a profound personal acquaintance with God as the all in all. He taught that all can have this light, that it comes to all, and can be seen by all if they do not suffer their attention to be distracted by outward things. From this simple idea of the inward light he deduced all the other doctrines which Barclay and Penn afterward elaborated into the complete system of Quakerism. It is noticeable in reading the life of Fox that so lofty a system has originated in so small a mind."

This critical historian misses the point that Fox was not keeping an historic diary, nor was he a Pepys; he was relating solely his own religious experience and that of the Friends. No one was better aware what was going on in politics, literature and government than George Fox. There was hardly a jail that he did not test. He and his friends were constantly before the king, Cromwell and the authorities, and it was entirely due to his wide range, as well as his concentration, that he won the battle for liberty of conscience with the sole weapon of passive resistance. "The Lord taught me," says Fox, "to be faithful in all things and to act faithfully in two ways: viz., inwardly to God, and

*The Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, M. A., says: "He who desires to understand the real history of the English people during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries should read most carefully three books: George Fox's Journal, John Wesley's Journal, and J. H. Newman's Apologia."

outwardly to man, and to keep yea and nay in all things."

The boy was originally intended for the priesthood, but he was eventually placed with a business man, a dealer in shoes, cattle and wool, and Fox became an expert in handling the latter. During all this time he had a strong predilection for religion and reforms, and after his first experience with some friends who were drinking and toasting one another, he was led to think more seriously on these subjects.

At this early period a temperance advocate would have been considered a curiosity and an anomaly, yet we find Fox started this campaign of prohibition in 1643 when but nineteen years of age. About this time he became much troubled as to religious matters and the evils of the day, and hoping to understand them he began to question ministers and to travel about the country in a very distressed frame of mind. Religion was now the subject of violent discussion and dispute. Traveling over England George Fox listened to all sides and to all people and was often in despair. He went to London and visited an uncle, a Baptist; then, returning, he wandered about the country, talking to priests, ministers, laymen and laywomen, but finding no peace or spiritual comfort. After consulting a priest named Tamworth, he writes that he found him a "hollow cask;" not exactly complimentary, but characteristic of the quaint phraseology of the time.

The "inner light" came to him early in his career, as he writes: "At another time it was opened to me that God who made the world did not dwell in temples made with hands." He was constantly engaged in self examination, turning over and over in his mind the questions of virtue,

right and wrong, and receiving, as he firmly believed, direct answers from God through the "inner light," which he recognized later on.

To appreciate the mental trials and tribulations of George Fox at this early period, one must follow his movements closely. The war was in progress; the king had been defeated at Naseby; Presbyterianism had been established as a militant power or sect, and Fox was wandering about the country; now being urged to enter the army, but ever groping in the dark, seeking to satisfy a gnawing conscience. One day in his travels he reached a Baptist meeting at Broughton in Leicestershire, and here doubtless spoke in meeting for the first time. He says: "A report went abroad of me that I was a young man who had a discerning spirit; whereupon many came to me from far and near, professors, priests and people. The Lord's power broke forth, and I had great openings and prophecies, and spoke unto them of the things of God, which they heard with attention and silence, and went away and spread the fame thereof. Then came the tempter and set upon me again, charging me, that I had sinned against the Holy Ghost; but I could not tell in what. Then Paul's condition came before me, how, after he had been taken up into the third heavens, and seen things not lawful to be uttered, a messenger of Satan was sent to buffet him. Thus by the power of Christ I got over that temptation also."

With growing spiritual courage he now passed through England, praying, preaching and raising his voice in rebuke against the many vanities of the world and the degeneracy of the times. Arriving at the town of Mansfield he began what was perhaps the first attempt of labor reform, of the

nineteenth century sort, England had ever experienced. He approached the justices in court and urged them to see that laborers, men and women, were not oppressed, particularly in the matter of wages. Then he exhorted laborers and servants to do their full duties to their masters. At this time Fox had undoubtedly a supersensitive conscience. He recognized with remarkable intuition for the time the fact that evils were being committed. He felt a strong compelling conscientious desire not only to point them out, but the way to overcome them, the spiritual remedy.

This urging of the conscience, this impelling moral force he considered the direct word of God speaking in his heart and soul, and so convinced was he that this was real and true that he never disobeyed it. He was now in a state of great religious enthusiasm and exaltation, and he began to have many followers. His arguments were appealing and convincing to many. Thus he says, "I travelled in the Lord's service as he led me." In the Vale of Beavor he observed that lawyers, doctors and priests were open to criticism, so he began to show them how to conduct their professions "satisfactory to the Lord." As day after day went by he took up other evils with a remarkable prescience for reformatory measures. He says:

"About this time I was sorely exercised in going to their courts to cry for justice, in speaking and writing to judges and justices to do justly; in warning such as kept publick houses for entertainment, that they should not let people have more drink than would do them good; in testifying against wakes, feasts, may-games, sports, plays, and shows, which trained up people to vanity and looseness, and led them from the fear of God; and the days set forth for holi-

days were usually the times wherein they most dishonoured God by these things. In fairs also, and in markets, I was made to declare against their deceitful merchandise, cheating and cozening; warning all to deal justly, to speak the truth, to let their yea be yea, and their nay be nay, and to do unto others as they would have others do unto them; forewarning them of the great and terrible day of the Lord, which would come upon them all. I was moved also to cry against all sorts of musick, and against the mountebanks playing tricks on their stages; for they burthened the pure life, and stirred up people's minds to vanity. I was much exercised too with school-masters and school-mistresses, warning them to teach children sobriety in the fear of the Lord, that they might not be nursed and trained up to lightness, vanity, and wantonness. I was made to warn masters and mistresses, fathers and mothers in private families, to take care that their children and servants might be trained up in the fear of the Lord, and that themselves should be therein examples and patterns of sobriety and virtue to them."

The civil war of 1648 was raging, and Fox was preaching peace in the highways. Cromwell, a militant preacher and reformer, was leading the Roundheads to battle under the banner of religious reform. Fox now began to attract large crowds, and as though to accumulate trouble, he refused to remove his hat, which offended many. He was thrown into jail at Nottingham for speaking in a church, but he converted the sheriff, John Reckless, who turned his home into a meeting-house, to the amazement of the populace and the rage of the church authorities.

During this period in England a prisoner in jail had little attention paid to him, physically or morally, and George

Fox became the pioneer prison reformer. He entered jails, when he was not cast into them, to plead with, and preach to, the prisoners, as Elizabeth Fry did after him, and the authorities often thought he was mad. He preached in the Coventry prison; was stoned out of the market of Bosworth for preaching in the chapel, and later was arrested at Derby and sentenced to the House of Correction for six months as a blasphemer. The mittimus, one of the first public documents relating to Friends in England, was as follows:

“To the master of the house of correction in Derby, greeting.

“We have sent you herewithal the bodies of George Fox, late of Mansfield, in the county of Nottingham, and John Fretwell, late of Staniesby, in the county of Derby, husbandman, brought before us this present day, and charged with avowed uttering and broaching of divers blasphemous opinions, contrary to a late act of parliament; which, upon their examination before us, they have confessed. These are therefore to require you forthwith, upon sight thereof, to receive them the said George Fox and John Fretwell into your custody, and them therein safely to keep during the space of six months, without bail or main-prize, or until they shall find sufficient security to be of the good behaviour, or be thence delivered by order from ourselves. Hereof you are not to fail. Given under our hands and seals this 30th day of October 1650.

“Ger. Bennet,
“Nath. Barton.”

Among the incisive blows struck at the Quakers was the government act declaring their marriages illegal. The Friends entertained the belief that marriage was an ordi-

nance of God; that the intervention of a clergyman was not necessary. The bride and groom stood up in the meeting in the presence of the audience and declared their intention of taking each other as husband and wife. They then signed the wedding certificate, which was in turn signed by the audience. Hence, instead of one or two witnesses, there were often fifty, one hundred or more. The Quakers made every attempt to have this law changed, and in 1661 Judge Archer declared in favor of the legality of such marriages, which came as a just relief, as the question of legitimacy of children, questions of property, were being raised by their enemies.

One of the remarkable characteristics of George Fox was his perfect familiarity with the Bible and his ability to call up any verse or authority. This was well shown when he was questioned and criticised by Lady Fairfax, Dr. Craddock and several priests, one of whom said, "You marry, but I know not how." Fox, who did not pose as an expert in the field of literary endeavor, being merely a systematist in his collection of correct references, replied, "It may be so: but why dost thou not come and see?" He asked him also, "Where do you read, from Genesis to Revelations, that ever any priest did marry any?" Fox said, "I wished him to shew me some instance thereof, if he would have us come to them to be married; for, said I, 'Thou hast excommunicated one of my friends two years after he was dead, about his marriage. And why dost thou not excommunicate Isaac, and Jacob, and Boaz, and Ruth? For we do not read that they were ever married by the priests; but they "took one another in the assemblies of the righteous, in the presence of God and His people;" and so do we. So that we have all

the holy men and women that the Scriptures speak of in this practice, on our side.' Much discourse we had; but when he found he could get no advantage on me, he went away with his company."

Marriage is again referred to by Fox. He says:

"From hence I went to Whitby: and, having visited friends there, passed to Burlington, where I had another meeting. From thence to Oram, where I had another meeting; and thence to Marmaduke Storr's, and had a large meeting at a constable's house, on whom the Lord had wrought a great miracle.

"Next day two friends being to take each other in marriage, there was a very great meeting, which I attended. I was moved to open the state of our marriages, declaring, 'How the people of God took one another in the assemblies of the elders; and that it was God who joined man and woman together before the fall. And though men had taken upon them to join in the fall, yet in the restoration it is God's joining that is the right and honourable marriage; but never any priest did marry any, that we read of in the scriptures, from Genesis to Revelations.' Then I shewed them the duty of man and wife, how they should serve God, being heirs of life and grace together."

Again, when establishing a monthly meeting in Wiltshire, he said:

"After we had visited friends in the city, I was moved to exhort them to bring all their marriages to the men's and women's meetings, that they might lay them before the faithful; that care might be taken to prevent such disorders as had been committed by some. For many had gone together in marriage contrary to their relation's minds; and some young,

raw people, that came among us, had mixed with the world. Widows had married without making provision for their children by their former husbands, before their second marriage. Yet I had given forth a paper concerning marriages about the year 1653, when truth was but little spread, advising friends, who might be concerned in that case, 'That they might lay it before the faithful in time, before anything was concluded; and afterwards publish it in the end of a meeting, or in a market, as they were moved thereto. And when all things were found clear, being free from all others, and their relations satisfied, they might appoint a meeting on purpose for the taking of each other; in the presence of at least twelve faithful witnesses.' Yet these directions not being observed, and truth being now more spread over the nation, it was ordered by the same power and Spirit of God, 'That marriages should be laid before the men's monthly and quarterly meetings, or as the meetings were then established; that friends might see, that the relations of those who proceeded to marriage were satisfied; that the parties were clear from all others; and that widows had made provision for their first husband's children, before they married again; and what else was needful to be inquired into; that all things might be kept clean and pure, and be done in righteousness to the glory of God. Afterwards it was ordered in the wisdom of God, 'That if either of the parties intending to marry came out of another nation, county, or monthly meeting, they should bring a certificate from the monthly meeting before which they came to lay their intentions of marriage.' "

To friends in Barbadoes he said:

"Because I was not well able to travel, the friends of the

island concluded to have their men's and women's meeting for the service of the church at Thomas Rous's, where I lay; by which means I was present at each of their meetings, and had very good service for the Lord in both. For they had need of information in many things, divers disorders being crept in for want of care and watchfulness. I exhorted them, more especially at the men's meeting, to be careful with respect to marriages, to prevent friends marrying in near kindreds, and also to prevent over-hasty proceedings towards second marriages after the death of a former husband or wife; advising that a decent regard be had in such cases to the memory of the deceased husband or wife. As to friends' children marrying too young, at thirteen or fourteen years of age, I showed the unfitness thereof, and the inconveniences and hurts that attend such childish marriages. I admonished them to purge the floor thoroughly, to sweep their houses very clean, that nothing might remain that would defile; and that all should take care, that nothing be spoken out of their meetings to the blemishing or defaming one of another. Concerning registering of marriages, births, and burials, I advised them to keep exact records of each in distinct books for that only use; and also to record in a book for that purpose, the condemnations of such as went out from truth into disorderly practices, and the repentance and restoration of such as returned again. I recommended to their care the providing of convenient burying-places for friends, which in some parts were yet wanting. Some directions also I gave them concerning wills, and the ordering of legacies left by friends for publick uses, and other things relating to the affairs of the church."

The care which Friends took to supervise the marriages of

the young is well illustrated in the conversation between George Fox and Wilbert Frouzen, a burgomaster of Rotterdam:

“Hearing I was there (he) invited me to his country-house, having a desire to speak to me about some business relating to Aarent Sunneman’s daughters. I took George Watts with me, and a brother of Aarent Sunneman had us thither. The burgomaster received us very kindly, was glad to see me, and entering into discourse about his kinsman’s daughters, I found that he was apprehensive, that, their father being dead, and having left them considerable portions, they might be stolen, and married to their disadvantage. Wherefore, I told him, ‘It was our principle and practice, that none should marry amongst us, unless they had a certificate of the consent of their relations or guardians; for it was our Christian care to watch over and look after all young people that came among us, especially those whose relations were dead. And as for his kinsman’s daughters, we should take care that nothing should be offered to them but what should be agreeable to truth and righteousness, and that they might be preserved in the fear of God, according to their fathers’ mind.’ This seemed to give him great satisfaction. While I was with him, there came many great people to me; and ‘I exhorted them all to keep in the fear of God, and to mind His good Spirit in them, to keep their minds to the Lord.’ After I had staid two or three hours, and discoursed with them of several things, I took my leave, and he very kindly sent me to Rotterdam in his chariot.”

It has been said that George Fox was totally devoid of humor. Among other things he preached against the vanity of the world as expressed by attire, and his peculiar sarcasm,

not without humor, is well shown in the following, which he was called upon to pen after contemplation of some of the fashions of the day:

“What a world is this! How doth the Devil garnish himself! How obedient are people to do His will and mind. They are altogether carried away with fooleries and vanities, both men and women. They have lost the hidden man of the heart, the meek and quiet spirit; which with the Lord is of great price. They have lost the adorning of Sarah; they are putting on gold and gay apparel; women plaiting the hair, men and women powdering it; making their backs look like bags of meal. They look so strange, that they can scarce look at one another; they are so lifted up in pride. Pride has flown up into their heads; and hath so lifted them up, that they snuff up, like wild asses, and like Ephraim they feed upon wind, and are got to be like wild heifers, who feed upon the mountains. Pride hath puffed up every one of them. They are out of the fear of God; men and women. Young and old; one puffs up another. They must be in the fashion of the world, else they are not in esteem; nay they shall not be respected, if they have not gold or silver upon their backs, or if the hair be not powdered. But if one have store of ribands hanging about his waist, at his knees, and in his hat, of divers colours, red, white, black, or yellow, and his hair powdered; then he is a brave man, then he is accepted, then he is no Quaker. He hath ribands on his back, belly, and knees, and his hair powdered. This is the array of the world. But is not this from the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, or the pride of life? Likewise the women having their gold, their patches on their faces, noses, cheeks, foreheads,

their rings on their fingers, wearing gold, their cuffs double under and above, like a butcher with his white sleeves; their ribands tied about their hands, and three or four gold laces about their cloaths; this is no Quaker, say they. This attire pleaseth the world; and if they cannot get these things, they are discontented. But this is not the attire of Sarah, whose adorning was in the hidden man of the heart, of a quiet and meek spirit. This is the adorning of the heathen; not of the apostle, nor of the saints, whose adorning was, not wearing of gold, nor plaiting of hair, but that of a meek and quiet spirit, which is of great price with the Lord. Here was the sobriety and good ornament which was accepted of the Lord. This was Paul's exhortation and preaching. But we see, the talkers of Paul's words, live out of Paul's command, and out of the example of Sarah, and are found in the steps of the great heathen, who comes to examine the apostle in his gorgeous apparel. Are not these, that have got ribands hanging about their arms, hands, back, waists, knees, hats, like fiddler's boys? This shews, that they are got into the basest and most contemptible life, who are in the fashion of fiddler's boys and stage-players, quite out of the paths and steps of solid men; in the very steps and paths of the wild heads, who give themselves up to every invention and vanity of the world that appears, and are inventing how to get it upon their backs, heads, feet, and legs; and say, If it be out of the fashion, it is nothing worth. Are not these spoilers of the creation, who have the fat and the best of it, and waste and destroy it? Do not these incumber God's earth? Let that of God in all consciences answer, and who are in the wisdom, judge. And further, if one get a pair of breeches like a coat, and hang them about with points, and up almost

to the middle, a pair of double cuffs about his hands, and a feather in his cap, here's a gentleman; bow before him, put off your hats, get a company of fiddlers, a set of musick, and women to dance. This is a brave fellow. Up in the chamber; up in the chamber without, and up in the chamber within. Are these your fine Christians? Yea, say they. They are Christians; but say the serious people, They are out of Christ's life, out of the apostles' command, and out of the saints' ornament. To see such as are in the fashions of the world before-mentioned, a company of them playing at bowls, or at tables, or at shovel-board, or each taking his horse, with bunches of ribands on his head, as the rider hath on his own, perhaps a ring in his ear too, and so go to horse-racing to spoil the creatures. Oh! these are gentlemen indeed, these are bred up gentlemen, these are brave fellows, they must take their recreation; for pleasures are lawful. These in their sports, set up their shouts like wild asses. They are like the kine or beasts, when they are put to grass, lowing when they are full. Here is the glorying of those before-mentioned; but it is in the flesh, not in the Lord. These are bad Christians, and shew that they are gluttoned with the creatures, and then the flesh rejoiceth. Here is evil breeding of youth and young women, who are carried away with the vanities of the mind in their own inventions, pride, arrogance, lust, gluttony, uncleanness. They eat and drink, and rise up to play. This is the generation which God is not well pleased with; for their eyes are full of adultery, who cannot cease from evil. These be they that live in pleasures upon earth; these be they who are dead while they live; who glory not in the Lord, but in the flesh; these be they that are out of the life that the scriptures were given forth from, who live in the fashions

and vanities of the world, out of truth's adorning, in the devil's adorning (who is out of the truth), not in the adorning of the Lord, which is a meek and quiet spirit, and is with the Lord of great price. But this ornament and this adorning is not put on by them that adorn themselves, and have the ornament of Him that is out of the truth. That is not accepted with the Lord which is accepted in their eye."

CHAPTER IV.

THE QUAKERS AND CROMWELL

It is said of Sidney Smith that, when asked by a friend, who was an artist, to criticise a portrait of a distinguished non-conformist, churchman of England, he replied: "It is excellent, but do you not think you could throw into the face a stronger expression of aversion to the established church?" This witticism might have been reversed and applied to Justice Gervase Bennett, who was one of the signers of the order committing George Fox to the House of Correction. Few enemies of the Quakers displayed more aversion or hostility in act or expression than did Bennett, who like various distinguished personalities in history, gained his right to fame by one act; in this case the invention of the word Quaker. He applied it to Fox in court as an offensive epithet. George Fox had written him several letters in which he had been called upon "to tremble at the word of the Lord," whereupon the Justice applied the term Quaker to him. This term has endured until to-day and it is so thoroughly identified with the people that it is generally used by laymen. Curiously enough, it has become a title of honor, the word carrying the suggestion of a God-serving people of the highest type of citizenship. For years Quakers were, and even to-day are, confounded by some with Shakers, and are supposed by the ignorant to quake or tremble or perform some absurd manoeuvres at their meetings, when the facts are, that of all religious sects they are the most dignified in their worship.

The Scots now proclaimed Charles II. king. He was living

in Holland, and a commission was sent asking him to subscribe to the covenant, to abrogate the Episcopacy in Scotland, and sever the connection with some lords, who, while attached to him, were not acceptable to the party. The King did not respond to the invitation of the commission until later when he sailed for Edinburgh, where, upon his arrival, he did everything possible to appeal to the English as well as the Scotch. In his pronunciamento he said:

“Though his Majesty, as a dutiful son, be obliged to honour the memory of his royal father, and have in estimation the person of his mother, yet doth he desire to be deeply humbled and afflicted in spirit before God, because of his father’s harkening to evil councils, and his opposition to the work of Reformation, and to the Solemn League and Covenant, by which so much of the blood of the Lord’s people hath been shed in these kingdoms, and for the idolatry of his mother.”

This was an appeal to the extreme Independents, the followers of George Fox and others, and was suggested by some clever adviser to deplete the followers of Cromwell, who were fighting in Ireland. Parliament now directed General Fairfax to proceed against the Scotch, but he refused on the ground that he was willing to defend England but not to attack Scotland. In this sentiment he doubtless was joined by Royalists, the extreme Levellers, Episcopalians and Presbyterians in opposition to the Independents who represented the English Commonwealth. The position of the Quakers was one unalterably opposed to war. Arbitration appealed to them and they referred to the Bible in justification of their non-combative policy.

George Fox was in jail carrying on an active propaganda



MILTON AND ELLWOOD
From the Horsley Painting



OLIVER CROMWELL
From the Walker Painting

by writing sermons and letters, arousing so much feeling that the authorities were greatly embarrassed. They regretted heartily that they had arrested him. At this time his family offered to pay any fine or give bond for his release, but he refused to leave the jail without legal procedure, on the ground that he was not guilty. On hearing this from Fox, the Justice who had committed him, rushed at him and knocked him down, maddened at his perseverance. They then endeavored to get rid of him by trying to induce him to enter the army, offering him a release and a captain's commission if he would enter the service of the Commonwealth against Charles Stuart. But he refused, basing his refusal upon Biblical grounds and denouncing war with renewed fervor.

All this time George Fox kept up a fusillade of letters addressed to those in authority. Divested of the peculiar and verbose method of writing, then in vogue, they displayed a keen appreciation of the need of reform in and out of jails and in every department of life. If one did not know the period, he could easily imagine the letters to have been written by some earnest philanthropist of the twentieth century. The situation had a humorous side. Fox by his protests, his letters, his conversion of the jailer and his family, proved to be a thorn in the side of the authorities, who had the temerity to confine him. He would not accept money or a commission. He refused the aid of his relatives who brought bail, and at last when the jailers ingenuously told him to "walk a mile for exercise," hoping he would make his escape, he refused.

Never had so strange or so peculiar a personage been seen in England. He was mad, or a fool, or both, contended the

critics. But Fox replied, "I was arrested without cause. I must be placed at liberty legally and the situation adjusted with absolute justice." They placed him in a filthy cell without a bed, and forced martyrdom upon him in answer to his plea.

While George Fox was languishing in jail in Derby in a cell unfit for a dog, Oliver Cromwell had been recalled from Ireland and made Commander-in-Chief. He at once proceeded against the Scotch with an army of veterans numbering eleven thousand. Colonel Monk, who later had many dealings with the Quakers, was a trusted officer of Cromwell. One morning the latter shouted, "that God arise and scatter his enemies." With their war cry "The Lord of Hosts" ringing on the air, the Puritans charged. In the midst of the battle, to illustrate their devout character, Cromwell's men sang the one hundred and seventeenth psalm; a weird battle, both sides calling on the Lord and claiming to fight for Him, while George Fox was fighting the methods of both with his pen from Derby jail.

Cromwell routed the Scotch, slew three thousand men, and captured several thousand. The Scotch were not discouraged. King Charles entered England at the head of fifteen thousand men, but Cromwell followed with thirty thousand, and routed him at Worcester, the last battle of the Civil War.

The Commonwealth was now the supreme power in Great Britain, and among various new acts came the release of George Fox, who again immediately started upon his travels, joining a friend and convert, William Dewsbury. Fox devoted a part of his time to visiting churches, after the service rising and addressing the congregation. The Quakers were

often attacked for this alleged interference, and later historians have accused them of grossly intruding upon the congregations of other clergymen and enforcing their views upon them. The facts are, that there was an abundant precedent for this action, though whether it was the courteous thing to do is another question. I have seen aliens rise in a Friends' meeting in the nineteenth century, to be firmly and quietly led out if they were at all extravagant or ventured upon an attack against the doctrines of the Friends. The latter prefer to do their own purging with their system of elimination, which has always been effective. Addressing other congregations was more or less the rule in these ultra-religious days, and custom sanctioned it, though many English clergymen or "priests" objected to visits of Quakers and urged their congregations to resent it. Many of the severest attacks made upon Fox and other Quakers in England and America were for this interference. In some places his presence was warmly greeted and the message of interest to the congregation; but at York Cathedral he was thrown out and injured. This was repeated at Duncaster; where he was hit with stones. At Tickhill a clerk struck him a violent blow with a Bible, and he was thrown out of the "steeplehouse" and dragged down the street; yet he rose and only reproved the mob, "for dishonouring Christianity."

If the actions of George Fox are carefully studied during these eventful and strenuous years, it will be seen that he had been a close student of the New Testament. He often consoled himself with saying that one greater than he had been ill treated for insisting upon telling the truth; and it is beyond question that he had Christ continually in his mind,

and when attacked refused to retaliate. In a word, he followed the Master in this, as in everything else.

Fox invariably refused to appear against his enemies in court, and for this he was accounted a fool. There were now several hundred Quakers in England. Thomas Alden, Richard Farnsworth, and William Dewsbury were preaching. At Seaburgh George Fox met Francis Howgill, a preacher, and at Firbank Chapel John Audland, both of whom became converts and most influential in the cause. At Under Barrow he met Edward Burrough, a man of fine family, who also became a Friend and an eminent man in the Society, a leader in every sense.

The fame of George Fox had now extended well over England and Wales, and wherever he stopped to preach many were struck with the force of his arguments and the correctness of his premise. Here and there among the converts were some who could speak, and so aided in repeating the warnings of Fox and calling attention to the need of reforms everywhere. During the tour of English towns in 1652, George Fox came one day to Swarthmore, the home of Judge Fell, who held court in Wales. Here he met a priest named William Lampit with whom he became involved in an interesting discussion on mooted religious points. Margaret Fell, the wife of the Judge, on the following day asked Fox to go to church and listen to Lampit; but Fox declined, telling her that he would stroll in the fields until she returned. But it was not long before the Quaker felt a "call" to go in, which he obeyed, and as the priest closed the service, Fox rose and addressed the congregation in his usual fashion.

Some of his remarks gave serious offense, and despite the

protest of Margaret Fell, a constable led him out of the church and he was forced to continue his arguments, to those who desired to hear him, in the graveyard. In the evening he returned to Swarthmore and spoke so convincingly that the servants of the Fell homestead, to whom he preached, became converted, and Margaret Fell herself was much disturbed, and more than half convinced that he was right.

Fox travelled on, and the gossip, who lived in 1652 as well as in 1912, hastened to inform Judge Fell that the members of his household had been the victims of witchcraft at the hands of one Fox. Margaret Fell, desiring that her husband should meet the young Quaker, invited him to return, also Richard Farnsworth and one Naylor. Judge Fell had heard that the religious peace of his family had been broken up, and had returned, on the defensive and much worried, though his house had always been a favorite meeting place for priests to gather and freely discuss all questions.

Swarthmore was a literary center, and Swarthmore Hall was famed far and near for its hospitality and the culture of its owners. Margaret Fell was born in 1614, and living during the reigns of James the First, Charles the First, the time of Cromwell, and Charles and James the Second, William the Third and Mary, saw all of the persecutions of the Quakers. She was identified with three houses in England all of which are still standing in Lancashire; Marsh Grange at Kirby Ireleth, where she lived as a child, Kirby Hall, the home of Colonel Kirby, her prosecutor, and Swarthmore Hall, the home of her husband, Judge Fell, who was a member of Parliament, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Judge of Cheshire and the North Wales Circuit. Mar-

garet Fell went to Swarthmore to live when but seventeen years of age, and her charming personality, high culture, and the erudition of her distinguished husband in a short time made Swarthmore Hall well known. Here came Quakers of all kinds, from the "convinced" soldiers of Cromwell's army to William Penn and Isaac Pennington, the Quaker son of a Lord Mayor of London, Thomas Lawson, the distinguished botanist, Colonel West, Colonel Gervase Benson, Edward Burrough, Francis Howgill, Thomas Aldam and others who held meetings here and made the Fell home in a sense headquarters of the early Friends. Here also one met Henry Coward of Lancaster, James Lancaster of Walney who stood between George Fox and a Walney mob. Relations and friends of the family were Henry and Leonard Fell of Baycliff, near Ulverston; ministers, Thomas Salthouse, Mary Asken, Annie Clayton, William Caton and Christopher Holder, a brother of Anthony of Winterbourne, first imprisoned in 1665, and many more. The Fells, Barclays, Penns, and Penningtons were particularly intimate and congenial, and were types of the most cultivated members of the Society, which included all classes. In these hospitable halls might have been seen Ellis Hooks, who was the Recording Clerk for twenty years.

After dinner, on his second visit at the Fell house, George Fox joined the family, and in the course of the evening he presented the case of the Friends so vigorously to Judge Fell, and in so convincing a manner, that the latter became much interested and asked him to call a meeting at Swarthmore Hall, which George Fox did, and which was continued until 1690 when a regular meeting-house was built.

This meeting with the Fells at Swarthmore had no little bearing and influence on the future career of George Fox, as he met at their home many famous and influential men who were convinced by his arguments and logic and his remarkable familiarity with the Bible. It is necessary to bear in mind the political situation at the time, when the entire country was broken up and divided into numerous religious and political factions. The message of Fox only added to the flame. He preached of the evils of the day, attacked the most ancient and time-honored customs and exposed their absurdity. No shams were sacred to him, and the ignorant and superstitious especially were without doubt often honestly alarmed at his temerity. He incensed the clergy by accusing them of making a business of religion and accepting money for preaching.

Fox denounced the magistrate and asked, "Is not truth silenced in the streets?" He admonished them to observe mercy and charity. He called upon Colonel Barton, who was an aristocrat, and reproved him for his pride and worldliness. He called upon Justice Bennett to show mercy as he expected it, to visit the prisons; look into the state of the prisoners and aid the oppressed in general. To the Mayor of Derby he read a lecture on temperance, reproached him for allowing a man to be imprisoned for worshipping God in his own way. To the Court of Derby he wrote calling attention to the oppression of the poor, the taking of oaths, which was forbidden in the Bible. He wrote the authorities protesting against the putting of men to death for small offences, as was the custom, and for keeping men and women in jail for long periods for the same.

At times Fox was unquestionably under intense religious

excitement and did things which can only be accounted for on the ground that he considered every good impulse which entered his mind, the voice of God. Such an instance was the removing of his shoes at Litchfield, and his passage through the city crying, "Woe! to the bloody city of Litchfield," and wondering why the Lord had called upon him to do this thing which seemed, possibly, like a penance. Yet we see him satisfied when some one told him that during the time of Diocletian a thousand Christians were martyred in Litchfield. In July, 1656, George Fox was in London aiding in promoting the first expedition of Friends to America in the "Speedwell," a vessel of about sixty tons, and in November of this year we find him again in London, the members of the Speedwell expedition having been banished from America and again on English soil.

With Gerard Rogers, Christopher Holder and others, George Fox now organized the famous Woodhouse expedition. Those proposing to sail were William Brend, Christopher Holder, but recently banished from Massachusetts, John Copeland, Sarah Gibbons, Mary Weatherhead, Dorothy Waugh, Robert Hodgson, Humphrey Norton, Richard Doudney, William Robinson and Mary Clarke. The "Woodhouse" was visited off the Downes in 1657 by William Dewsbury, who doubtless saw her start on the voyage which was just six weeks longer than that of any of the large modern steamers over about the same course in 1913.

It is practically impossible for anyone, especially a religious extremist and ultra-enthusiast, believing himself to have a divine mission, as did George Fox, to avoid at times going to extremes, or what might be termed passing the

bounds of good taste and reason, and but few such enthusiasts have escaped censure. They have at some time become irrational. A number of instances can be mentioned among early Friends, some of whom poured ashes on their heads and paraded the streets garbed in sackcloth or stripped off some of their attire, as a "sign." Such persons, doubtless, were afflicted with religious *dementia*, for the time, and were carried away by the enthusiasm of their calling. We observe this to-day especially in revivals. I have seen persons carried out of a negro Methodist meeting in a cataleptic fit. Scenes in camp meeting revivals in the nineteenth century were never equalled in the seventeenth for fantastic coloring.

Instances of this kind were rare among the early Friends and where any extravagances did occur as a "sign," to attract attention violently to the point at issue, much was made of it by the enemies of Fox and his followers. It would have been marvelous had not some weak minds given way at such a time. We find them among the Baptists, the Presbyterians and quite as many to-day among various denominations, but no one would think of holding up such isolated examples against the different religious bodies as an instance of the failure of the entire sect. In all religious communities there are extremists who go beyond the bounds of reason and bring down odium upon their cause.

Some Friends, like the irrational Naylor, not strong of mind, would read of the performances of the Hebrew prophets, how God commanded Isaiah to walk naked and barefooted for three years as a "sign," or how Ezekiel was set up as a "sign" unto the House of Israel, would be very likely to consider it their duty to go and do likewise, and instead of

putting such unfortunates under gentle restraint, as they do in 1913, they were in 1647 taken seriously and arrested as criminals. Even Robert Barclay, one of the most intelligent of Quakers, felt called upon in 1677, "to pass through three principal streets of Aberdeen clothed in sackcloth." The object of this was to attract the attention of the public to their sins. He says, "The command of the Lord concerning this thing came unto me that very morning when I awakened, and the burden thereof was very great; yea, seemed almost insupportable unto me (for such a thing until that very moment, had never entered me before, not in the most remote consideration.) And some, whom I called to declare to them this thing, can bear witness how great was the agony of my spirit, how I besought the Lord with tears, that this cup might pass away from me! And this was the end, to call you to repentance by this signal and singular step, which I, as to my own will and inclination, was as unwilling to be found in, as the worst and wickedest of you can be averse from receiving or laying it to heart."

Other "signs" were the tearing of his cap before Cromwell by Alden, the breaking of jugs or bottles before Parliament, the appearance of Robert Huntington in the Carlisle Church, garbed in a white sheet with a halter about his neck, the scattering of money in the streets of London by Thomas Ibbits, or the parade of Solomon Eccles with a pan of burning coals and brimstone on his head as a sign "to such as would not see, and such as would not hear the truth." One William Simpson imitated Isaiah by walking naked three years, as a sign to Cromwell that God would strip them of their power, etc. This unfortunate was doubtless a public nuisance, of impaired mentality, and instead of being whip-

ped repeatedly by officers of the law, should have been placed under restraint. These and others took the words of Isaiah literally, but they and other extremists of like ilk were but few in number compared to the entire body of Friends in England, and investigation will show that many similar eccentricities have been chronicled among extremists in various countries and religions. Samuel M. Janny evidently takes these isolated and inconsequential vagaries much to heart and apologizes for them. He says:

“It would be extremely unjust to apply to all the actions of former generations the standard of propriety now adopted in enlightened nations; for, although the cardinal principles of morality have been nearly the same among good people in all ages, there has been a vast difference in their manners and their ideas of decorum. The few instances of indecorum among the early Friends may well be pardoned, when we reflect that they lived in an age when, by order of public authorities and for no other offense than religious dissent, worthy men and virtuous women were stripped to the waist, and cruelly scourged in the public streets, both in England and America.”

It is altogether unnecessary to take such exhibitions seriously; they were too few, and had little or nothing to do with the main work of the Quakers. In all lands, yesterday and to-day, men and women have attained all stages of insanity in the cause of religion, from the harikari of the Japanese, running amuck of the East Indian, pseudo crucifixion of certain American Indians, and the sending of children to Heaven by feeding them to the crocodiles of India, the sharks of Africa and a thousand other eccentricities in the last thousand years. It is well to turn the page on the

crimes and manias which have held under the guise of religion. They are but the parasite on the branch, have no relation to the final results of great religious endeavor of the ages. Even to-day a certain percentage of the inmates of all insane asylums are suffering from religious mania, caused by over excitement. I have dwelt upon this inconsequential feature because it is so often unjustly taken up by critical writers, being merely an incident in the evolution of a great moral idea and in no sense a custom.

George Fox had a striking personality and remarkable power of holding his audiences, possessing what is known to-day as personal magnetism to an extraordinary degree. A woman of Beverly told Justice Hotham that "the last Sabbath Day an angel or spirit came into the Church at Beverly and spoke the wonderful things of God, to the astonishment of all that were there. It astonished all, priests, professors and magistrate." This is an excellent illustration of the extreme effect produced by Fox on some of his hearers, who were influenced by the religious fervor of the time. George Fox was the angel, and Justice Hotham later became an earnest convert to Quakerism. In one of his tours beyond the town of Pickering we have possibly one of the first illustrations of the silent meeting. It is referred to in his Journal. He says;

"I passed to another town where there was another great meeting, the old priest being with me; and there came professors of several sorts to it. I sate on a hay-stack, and spoke nothing for some hours; for I was to *famish them from words*. The professors would ever and anon be speaking to the old priest and asking him when I would begin, and when I would speak? He bade them wait; and told

them, that the people waited upon Christ a long while before he spoke. At last I was moved of the Lord to speak; and they were struck by the Lord's power. The word of life reached to them, and there was a general conviction amongst them."

The payment of tithes, taxes to support the established church to the priests, was the cause of much trouble. George Fox taught that it was not necessary to pay tithes to support a priest or a church, in which the taxed had no interest, confidence or faith. He preached against it and the Friends obeyed his injunction. The refusal caused many to be thrown into jail in England and in America. In the *Journal* he quotes an instance where a priest was converted and refused to take tithes. He says: "From hence I passed on, the old priest being still with me, and several others. As we went along some people called to him and said, 'Mr. Boyes, we owe you some money for tithes, pray come and take it.' But he threw up his hands and said, he had enough, he would have none of it; they might keep it." And, "He praised the Lord he had enough."

At this time Fox was continually traveling, moving from place to place; now in the snow, now sleeping in the "furz" or in stacks of corn, or walking soaked in the rain, and with houses of refuge closed against him, to be as suddenly taken in and made much of by zealous followers. Often absurd charges would be trumped up against him so that the authorities could lock him up. Here he would be charged as claiming to be Christ; or there, breaking the laws of Parliament, or again creating a riot; all in all, his passage through England was a stormy one. At Tickhill he was nearly killed. They beat him, stoned him, dragged him

through the streets, threw him over a hedge and rolled him about until he was covered with blood and dirt; but he rose up and preached to them and forgave them, even when the matter was brought into the courts, refusing to appear, as the punishment for striking a man in a church was to strike off the offending hand.

His experience at Ulverstone was even more menacing. Here Justice John Sawrey incited the people to attack him, on the ground that he misrepresented the Scriptures. Fox being a non-resistant did nothing to protect himself; so they knocked him down, kicked him, and the mob trampled on him and doubtless did its best to kill him. They dragged him out of the town, beating him with clubs until he fell senseless in the mud. Recovering in a few moments he began to speak again, when a man struck his outstretched arm so foul a blow that it became helpless. Fox literally turned the other cheek, crying, "Strike again, here are my arms, my head and my cheeks." The man accepted the invitation and struck him down. Fox continued to talk to them and his fearlessness conquered, as when he returned to Ulverstone a soldier approached him and congratulated him on his manhood, courage, and for his valor, offering to protect him. But Fox refused, and what he preached again had such an effect that his enemies withdrew, one of the many extraordinary instances in which the Quakers won their victories by sheer passive resistance and persistence. This was one of the secrets of the success of the Quakers everywhere: possessed with complete faith, dying, if necessary. With morality and honesty on their side they always won their battles, unarmed, and without resisting the enemy's blow or attack.

Additions to the ranks of the Quakers were becoming more frequent and every day saw men acclaimed as preachers. Among them, attracting attention, were John Audland, Francis Howgill, John Camm, Richard Hubberthorn, Miles Halhead, Edward Burrough and Christopher Holder. The latter was destined to become a famous preacher in America. He was a resident of Winterbourne, Alveston, Gloucestershire, near Bristol, and was one of the early converts and followers of George Fox. He gave not only his services, but of his abundant means. Christopher Holder had kinsmen high in the church, who doubtless objected as seriously to his leaving the established church as did the family of Penn to the conversion of William Penn. At this time Dr. William Holder, who married Susanna Wren, sister of Sir Christopher Wren, the famous architect, was correlated to the third Prebendal Stall in Ely Cathedral by Bishop Wren. Later he was sub-deacon of the Chapel Royal and sub-almoner to Charles II., and his personal friend. Some of the Wren family became converts to George Fox, Christopher Holder and other Friends. Susanna Holder was famed for her charity and goodness. She was buried in the crypt of St. Paul's, London, by the side of her husband, Dr. William Holder. I visited the tomb in 1910, and found the following inscription on the monument to the wife of Dr. Holder and sister of Sir Christopher Wren:

"In memory of Susanna Holder, late wife of William Holder, D. D., residentiary of Westminster Abbey, daughter of Dr. Christopher Wren, late dean of Windsor, and sister of Christopher Wren, Kt. Among others, her excellent endowments, her prudence, virtue and piety, her charity was no small blessing to the neighborhood wherever she

resided. Having, in compassion for the poor, applied herself to the knowledge of medicinal remedies wherein God gave so great blessing that hundreds were happily healed by her, including King Charles I., Queen Catherine and many of the Court, after forty years happily and honorably passed in conjugal state and care, at the age of sixty-one she piously rendered her soul to God the last day of June, 1688."

George Fox's attempts to preach at Walney Island and Cockan were met by the most violent opposition he had yet experienced. Men and women fought with flails and pitchforks, doing their best to kill him, as well as his friends, several of whom usually accompanied him. He was badly injured as the result of this and was sent for by Margaret Fell and taken to Swarthmore where he was protected by Judge Fell, until he was again able to take up the ministry, which had now become more than strenuous.

CHAPTER V.

THE PROTECTORATE

England was now much disturbed politically. It is true Cromwell was the Protector and doubtless could have been king and a house of Cromwell established had he forced the issue; but his troops were opposed to it. Great Britain was virtually a republic, and Cromwell endeavored to pacify the Nobles, the Royalists, and his army of Presbyterians — a most difficult feat of diplomacy. The so-called Rump Parliament was in control. The army was daily becoming more and more incensed at Parliament, yet the members, not seeing the shadow on the wall, had the temerity to attempt to pass a bill the intent of which was to continue in office all the existing members without re-election.

To this the army objected. Cromwell, a man of infinite resources, was at his wit's end. His desire was to coalesce all the national interests — a feat requiring the wisdom of a Solomon.

About this time George Fox was visiting at Swarthmore. One evening while engaged in a discussion with Judge Fell and Justice Benson on the political situation, his views were asked by one of the listeners. His reply created a sensation, as he prophesied that in two weeks Parliament would adjourn, despite its efforts, and the Speaker be "plucked" from his seat. While Fox was prophesying Cromwell was holding meetings with Sir Harry Vane and others, and as a result, he warned Parliament that their bill for political perpetuity would not be permitted. Parliament pretended

to acquiesce, but on April 20th a meeting was held and the attempt was made to rush through this extraordinary bill. Cromwell, well informed, heard of it, and, as George Fox had prophesied, stopped it. With a few good Presbyterian soldiers he walked into the House, denounced the recreant Members, took the mace, and handed it to his men; then gave the order to one of them to "Fetch down the Speaker."

As the Members filed out, Cromwell stood and watched them and did not hesitate to comment on their action. As Sir Harry Vane passed he taunted him as a false friend, as Vane had promised him certain things which had not been performed. "The Lord deliver me from thee, Sir Harry Vane," sneered the Protector. This was the end of the long Parliament. The so-called Barebones Parliament assembled; religious fervor was at its height, and some men under the influence of Fox were among its number. Cromwell opened it with a Puritan sermon.

The Quakers through their members did not fail in their endeavors to influence Parliament. They were deeply interested in certain new measures. One was the abolition of the Court of Chancery. Another aimed at the removal of the bar to civil marriages, while a third purposed to wipe out the payment of tithes and of lay patronage. These measures, striking at Episcopalians and Royalists, aroused much antagonism and intense excitement among the lawyers and the clergy, who were particularly affected.

While the Quakers may have been the suggesters of these radical and excellent movements, the Presbyterians were the cat's-paws selected to lift the chestnut; hence received the most abuse. That the ideas were right no one

could question to-day, but like all the reforms of the Quakers, they were two hundred years ahead of the time, and there was a vast amount of ignorance to contend against. That the propounder of these new ideas had been justified by Cromwell's opening address was evident, but the masses seemed to consider them revolutionary, and England was thrown into a violent conflict of words and opinions, amid which the Quakers were preaching in the churches and highways with rapidly increasing numbers. George Fox made a point to preach against war, with which the country appeared to be interminably involved. At Carlisle he visited the garrison of Cromwell's troopers and preached to them, the officers sounding the call and ordering the garrison together that they might hear him, upon which he warned them to "kill no man," and denounced all warfare with his usual vigor.

Soon after this he was arrested and every attempt was made to hang him, his commitment being on the ground that he was a blasphemer, a seducer and a heretic. The dungeon in which Fox was confined at Carlisle was designed to humiliate him to the utmost. It was foul beyond any conception and only to be compared to a neglected pen for pigs. There were absolutely no conveniences, and here vile men and lewd women were crowded together to break the heart and dishonor the leader of the Quakers, who, far from being cast down, did his utmost to convert and re-humanize the wretches who surrounded him. Many ladies and gentlemen went to see Fox in jail, among them James Parnell, who became a Friend and one of the most influential of the Society in later years. Other converts at this time were Thomas Briggs and Miles Halhead, who preached

eloquently, and, as a consequence, were beaten, stoned and hounded from place to place.

A characteristic of the Friends was their persistence, and this, with the fact that they never resisted nor were known to return a blow, had a peculiar effect upon their enemies, making them all the more vicious and intolerant. Yet in many instances in the end they were overcome by the evident good faith and piety of the zealous Quakers and ceased persecuting them. So persistent a preacher as Fox could not fail to attract wide-spread attention, and it was not long before the various parties began to realize that Quakerism was a potent and momentous issue. This was demonstrated when the friends of Fox demanded of Parliament an investigation into the facts of the imprisonment of their leader at Carlisle, calling the attention of Cromwell to the horrors of the situation and its gross injustice, showing that, while he was posing as the Protector, as the champion of freedom in religious thought, a Christian was threatened with hanging at Carlisle on a question of religion and the freedom of conscience. As a result, in all probability, the Governor and Anthony Pearson investigated the situation, and in a short time Fox was liberated.

The extraordinary nature of all writings at this time is well illustrated by the following letters by George Fox, Gervase Benson and Anthony Pearson. I have in my possession letters written by kinsmen and kinswomen among Friends as late as 1860 which are equally remarkable for the continual use of religious terms and quotations:

"Friends, Thomas Craston and Cuthbert Studholm,

"Your noise is gone up to London before the sober people. What imprisoning, what gagging, what havoc and spoiling

the goods of people have you made within these two years! Unlike men; as though you had never read the Scriptures or had not minded them! Is this the end of Carlisle's religion? Is this the end of your ministry? Is this the end of your church, and of your profession of Christianity? You have shamed it by your folly, madness, and blind zeal. Was it not always the work of the blind guides, watchmen, leaders, and false prophets, to prepare war against them that could not put it into their mouths? Have you not seen the priests' pack-horses and executioners? When they spur you up to bear the sword against the just, do not you run on against those that cannot hold up such as the Scriptures always testified against? Yet will you lift up your unholy hands, and call upon God with your polluted lips, and pretend a fast, who are full of strife and debate. Did your hearts never burn within you? Did you never come to question your conditions? Are you wholly given up to the devil's lusts, to persecute? Where is your loving enemies? Where is your entertaining strangers? Where is your overcoming evil with good? Where are your teachers, that can stop the mouths of gainsayers, and such as oppose themselves? Have you no ministers of the Spirit, no soldiers with spiritual weapons, displaying Christ's colours? But all the dragons, the murderers, the persecutors, arm of flesh, Cain's weapons, chief priests taking counsel, Judas and the multitude with swords and staves, Sodom's company raging about Lot's house, like the priests and princes against Jeremiah, like the dragon, beast and great whore, and the false church which John saw should cast into prison, kill, and persecute? Whose weapons are you bearing? Doth not the false church, the

whore, make merchandise of cattle, corn, wine and oil, even to the very souls of men? Hath not all this been since the true church went into the wilderness? Read Revelations the 12th, with the 18th; do you not read and see what a spirit you are of, and what a bottomless pit you are in? Have not you dishonoured the place of justice and authority? What! turned your sword backward, like madmen, who are a praise to the evil doer, and would be a terror to the good, with all force and might to stop the way of justice! Doth not the Lord, think you, behold your actions? How many have you wronged? How many have you imprisoned, persecuted, and put out of your synagogues? Are you they that must fulfill the prophecy of Christ, Matt. XXIII, John XVI? Read the Scriptures, see how unlike you are to the prophets, Christ, and his apostles, and what a visage you have, like unto them that persecuted the prophets, Christ and the apostles. You are found in their steps, wrestling with flesh and blood, not with principalities and powers, and spiritual wickedness; your teachers imprisoning and persecuting for outward things, you being their executioners; the like whereof hath not been in all the nations. The havoc that hath been made, the spoiling of people's good, taking away their oxen and fatted beeves, their sheep, corn, wool and household goods, and giving them to the priests that have done no work for them. More like moss troopers than ministers of the gospel, they take them from friends; suing them in your courts, and fining them because they will not break the command of Christ; that is, because they will not swear. Thus you act against them that do not lift up a hand against you, and as much as you turn against them you turn against

Christ. But he is risen that will plead their cause, and you cannot be hid. Your works are come to light, and the end of your ministry is seen, what it is for; for means. You have dishonored the truth, the gospel; and are of those that make it chargeable. You have lost your glory. You have dishonoured yourselves. Persecution was ever blind and mad. Read the apostle, what he said of himself, when he was in your nature. Exaltation and pride, and your lifting up yourselves, hath brought you to this; not being humble, not doing justice, not loving mercy. When such as have been beaten and bruised by your rude company, to whom you are a praise and an encouragement, have come and laid things before you, that you might have done justice, preserved and kept peace, you, knowing they could not swear, have put an oath to them. This hath been your trick and cover, that ye might not do justice to the just; but by this means go on still further to encourage the evil doer. But the Lord sees your hearts! If ye were not men past feeling, ye would fear and tremble before the God of the whole earth; who is risen, and will stain your glory, mar your pride, deface your beauty, and lay it in the dust. Though for a time you may swell in your pride, glory in your shame, and make a mock of God's messengers, who, for reproving sin in the gate, are become your prey; you will feel the heavy hand of God and his judgments at the last. This is from a lover of the truth, of righteousness, and of your souls; but a witness against all such as make a trade of the prophets', Christ's and the apostles' words, and are found in the steps of them who persecuted the prophets', Christ's, and the apostles' life; who persecute those that will not hold you up, put into your mouths and

give you means. Tythes were before the law, and tythes were in the law; but tythes since the days of the apostles have been only since the false church got up. Christ, who is come to end the law, and to end war, redeems men out of the tenths and out of the nines also. The redeemed of the Lord shall reign upon the earth, and know the election which was before the world began. Since the days of the apostles, tythes have been set up by the papists, and by them that went from the apostles into the world; set up by the false church that made merchandise of the people, since the true church went into the wilderness. But now is the judgment of the great whore come; the beast and false prophet (the old dragon) shall be taken and cast into the fire, and the Lamb and his saints shall have the victory. Now is Christ come who will make war in righteousness and destroy with the sword of his mouth all these inventors and inventions that have been set up since the days of the apostles, and since the true church went into the wilderness. And the everlasting gospel, which is the power of God, shall be preached again to all nations, kindreds, and tongues, in this the Lamb's day; before whom you shall appear to judgment. You have no way to escape. For he hath appeared who is the First and the Last, the Beginning and the Ending, the Alpha and the Omega: he that was dead is alive again, and lives forever more!

“GEORGE FOX.”

The following is from Gervase Benson and Anthony Pearson: “He, who is called George Fox, who is persecuted by rulers and magistrates, by justices, priests, and the people, and who suffers the imprisonment of his body at this time as a blasphemer, an heretick, and a seducer, him do we witness

(who in a measure are made partakers of the same life that lives in him) to be a minister of the eternal word of God, by whom the everlasting gospel is preached; by the powerful preaching whereof the eternal Father of the saints hath opened the blind eyes, unstopped the deaf ears, let the oppressed go free, and hath raised the dead out of the graves. Christ is now preached in and among the saints, the same that he ever was; and because his heavenly image is borne up in this his faithful servant, therefore doth fallen man (rulers, priests and people) persecute him. Because he lives up out of the fall, and testifies against the works of the world, that the deeds thereof are evil, he suffers by you magistrates, not as an evil doer. Thus it was ever where the seed of God was kept in prison under the cursed nature, that nature sought to imprison them in whom it was raised. The Lord will make him to you as a burdensome stone; for the sword of the Spirit of the Almighty is wicked; and shall not be put up till it hath cut down all corrupt judges, justices, magistrates, priests and professors; till he hath brought his wonderful thing to pass in the earth, which is to make new heavens and a new earth, wherein shall dwell righteousness; which now he is about to do. Therefore fear the Lord God Almighty, ye judges, justices, commanders, priests and people; ye that forget God suddenly will the Lord come and destroy you with an utter destruction, and will sweep your names out of the earth, and will restore his people judges as at the first, and counsellors as at the beginning. And all persecutors shall partake of the plagues of the whore, who hath made the kings of the earth and the great men drunk with the wine of her fornications, and hath drunk the blood of the saints;

and therefore shall you be partakers of her plagues. We are not suffered to see our friend in prison, whom we witness to be a messenger of the Living God. Now, all people, mind whether this be according to the law, or from the wicked, perverse, envious will of the envious rulers and magistrates, who are of the same generation that persecuted Jesus Christ; for he said, 'as they have done to me, so will they do to you.' And as he took the love, the kindness, the service that was shewed and performed to any of his afflicted ones in their sufferings and distress, as done unto himself; so the injuries and wrongs that were done by any to any of his little ones, he resented as done unto himself also. Therefore you, who are so far from visiting him yourselves in his suffering servant that ye will not suffer his brethren to visit him, ye must depart, ye workers of iniquity, into the lake that burns with fire. The Lord is coming to thresh the mountains and will beat them to dust; and all corrupt rulers, corrupt officers and corrupt laws, the Lord will take vengeance on, by which the tender consciences of his people are oppressed. He will give his people his law, and will judge his people himself, not according to the sight of the eye and the hearing of the ear, but with righteousness and equity. Now are your hearts made manifest to be full of envy against the living Truth of God, which is made manifest in his people, who are condemned and despised of the world, and scornfully called Quakers. You are worse than the heathens that put Paul in prison, for none of his friends or acquaintances were hindered to come to him by them; therefore they shall be witnesses against you. Ye are made manifest to the saints to be of the same generation that put Christ to death, and that put the apostle in prison,

on the same pretence as you act under ; in calling truth error, and the ministers of God blasphemers, as they did. But the day is dreadful and terrible that shall come upon you, ye evil magistrates, priests, and people, who profess the truth in words outwardly and yet persecute the power of truth and them that stand in and for the truth. While ye have time, prize it, and remember what is written, Isa. LIV. 17."

George Fox was continually in the public eye at this time, and Cromwell particularly was advised as to his movements. Now some sermon was sent to him, or Fox or his followers joined him in his drives, and preached to him on horseback ; and unquestionably the word as interpreted by Fox was not in the main objectionable to the greatest man of England. There were seasons when the intervention of the name of Fox was not pleasant. One day, some recruits of Cromwell's army were heard refusing to swear and were taken to task by the Protector. "Why will you not swear to defend your country when you are willing to enter the army and fight for it?" asked the puzzled commander. "George Fox has convinced us that it is wrong to swear," replied the soldiers ; "swear not at all," says the Bible.

What Cromwell answered history does not state, but he accepted their affirmation. He wanted the men to fight and was, doubtless, a protagonist of the principle, "Put your trust in the Lord, but keep your powder dry," used in later times. The protest of Justice Gervase Benson that he was not permitted to visit Fox and learn personally of his condition, resulted in his being liberated and allowed to join his friends. Fox now continued his work over the country and was met again and still again by charges from

the Ranters, priests and others. Fox converted Lady Montague to his belief, Edward Pyot, and with many influential friends, he swept England from Holderness to Bristol and from Lands End to Carlisle.

In their desperation for effective charges, the enemies of Quakerism stated that George Fox was scheming against the life of the Protector, and Colonel Hacker [ancestor of the Lynn, Massachusetts, and Philadelphia Hackers,] with seventeen troopers arrested him for plotting against Cromwell. He was soon released and turned his attention to an attempt to rebuke the Pope and other rulers in a peroration which reads as follows:

“Ye heads, rulers, kings, and nobles, of all sorts, be not bitter, nor hasty in persecuting the Lambs of Christ, neither turn yourselves against the visitation of God, and his tender love and mercies from on high, who sent to visit you; lest the Lord’s hand and power take hold swiftly upon you; which is now stretched over the world. It is turned against kings, and shall turn wise men backward, will bring their crowns to the dust, and lay them low and level with the earth. The Lord will be king, who gives crowns to whomsoever obey his will. This is the age, wherein the Lord God of Heaven and earth is staining the pride of man and defacing his glory. You that profess Christ and do not love your enemies, but on the contrary shut up and imprison those who are his friends; these are marks that you are out of his life, and do not love Christ, who do not love the things that he commands. The day of the Lord’s wrath is kindling, his fire is going forth to burn up the wicked, which will leave neither root nor branch. They that have lost their habitation with God are out of his Spirit that gave

forth the scriptures; and from the light that Jesus Christ hath enlightened them withal; and so from the true foundation. Therefore be swift to hear, slow to speak, and slower to persecute; for the Lord is bringing his people to himself, from all the world's ways, to Christ the way; from all the world's churches, to the church which is in God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; from all the world's teachers, to teach the people himself by his Spirit; from all the world's images, into the image of himself; and from all the world's crosses of stone or wood, into his power which is the cross of Christ. For all these, images, crosses, and likenesses are among them that are apostatized from the image of God, the power of God, the cross of Christ, which now fathoms the world, and is throwing down that which is contrary to it; which power of God never changes.

Let this go to the kings of France and of Spain, and to the Pope, for them to prove all things and hold that which is good. And first to prove that they have not quenched the Spirit; for the mighty day of the Lord is come, and coming upon all wickedness, ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who will plead with all flesh by fire and by sword. And the truth, the crown of glory, the sceptre of righteousness over all shall be exalted; which shall answer that of God in everyone upon the earth, though they be from it. Christ is come a light into the world, and doth enlighten everyone that cometh into the world, that all through him might believe. He that feeleth the light, that Christ hath enlightened him withal, he feeleth Christ in his mind and the cross of Christ, which is the power of God; he shall not need to have a cross of stone or wood to put him in mind of Christ, or of his cross, which is the power of God manifest in the inward parts."

Many reports regarding the Quakers had reached Wales, among other places, and at the request of some of his parishioners a priest, named Morgan Floyd, sent two of his congregation to listen to the Quakers in England and report back to the church. One member of this committee was John Ap John of Wrexham, a brother of the author's eighth great grandfather, Edmund Johnson.*

George Fox in his Journal writes: "When these Triers came amongst us the power of the Lord seized upon them and they were both convinced of the truth." John Ap John first met George Fox at the home of Judge Fell, at Swarthmore. He was converted, and later became one of the leading ministers among Friends. He lived at Trevor, Wales, and became an intimate friend of George Fox, and accompanied him on many of his tours through Wales and England. His work is referred to in George Fox's Journal, Levick's Early Welsh Quakers, and in a manuscript owned

*It is an interesting fact that this family and the Goves, became prominent Quaker families in New England in later years. The descent is as follows:

- (1) Edmund Johnson, Poontypool, Wales, mar.—1530; their son
- (2) John, b. 1588; m.—They had two sons, Edmund and John Ap John.
- (3) The former married Mary—1635 at Hampton, Mass.
- (4) Their son Peter, b.—1639; m. Ruth Moulton of Hampton, N. H.
- (5) Their son Edmund, b. 1671; m. Abigail Green.
- (6) Their daughter, m. John Gove, 1715.
- (7) Their son Daniel, m. Rebecca Hunt of Hampton.
- (8) Their son Daniel, m. Miriam Cartland of Weare, N. H.
- (9) Their son, Moses, b. 1774; m. Hannah Chase.
- (10) Their son, John C. Gove, m. Hannah Green Gove.
- (11) Their daughter, Emily, m. Dr. J. B. Holder, 1850, of Lynn, Mass.
- (12) Their son, Charles F. Holder (the author), married Sarah E. Ufford.

by William Gregory Norris of Coalbrookdale. His life has also been published by Norman Penney of London.

It is interesting to observe that most of the Quakers at this time believed implicitly that justice would come to those who ill treated others; a common superstition in all religious bodies in their infancy. Fox refers to certain soldiers of Cromwell who at first refused to take the oath, then later on did take it. Here is the ominous overtaking: "but not long outlived it, for marching afterwards into Scotland and passing by a garrison there, these, thinking they had been enemies, fired at them, whereby several were killed." Many illustrations of this could be given.

The doctrine of Cromwell, and that of the Puritans in general, was not very different from that of the Quakers, though the latter would never have admitted this. There were many non-essentials on both sides: the plain language, the wearing of the hat, and other "peculiarities" which seemed of vital importance in 1653. While Cromwell treated the Quakers better than all other victors in England, he was a man of war, a violent personage, and few, if any, could have been found who would have believed that in 1911 the Protector would have been looked upon by those who could study his character and analyze it judiciously, as one of the greatest men in history.

As George Fox had endeavored to convince the Pope that Catholicism was wrong, it was hardly to be expected that his followers would not attempt to bring the doughty Protector to their terms, and he was continually their shining mark. In the latter part of 1654, Fox had sixty well-equipped ministers, most of them men of intellectual attainment, and not a few from the higher ranks of life, from the best families of several counties.

Such was Christopher Holder, the fourth great grandfather of Mrs. Russell Sage, the American philanthropist. A prominent Friend at this time was Edward Burrough, student and author. Others were Francis Howgill, distinguished as a writer and eloquent preacher; Anthony Holder, author, and brother of Christopher; Anthony Pearson, an ex-justice; Robert Dring, Joshua Cole, William Crouch, George Whitehead, John Cramm, Thomas Holmes and others. George Fox marshalled these ministers with the cleverness of a general. One or two would go to Wales and join John Ap John. Two more ministers he sent to Holderness to canvass Yorkshire and cover that ground; others went to Bristol where Joshua Cole and Anthony Holder received them. Christopher Holder and others were speaking near Ilchester, in jail and out, and so the kingdom was covered in a most extraordinary way. As the opposition to them increased, their numbers multiplied, and these men of peace succeeded in keeping the Commonwealth in an uproar, and their demands for reform before the world.

Friends had so increased in 1654 that regular meetings were established at various places, in Bristol, at Anthony Holder's, and at the Fell's at Swarthmore.

The first settled meeting in London was held at the home of Sarah Sawyer in Aldgate Street. It was a tenet of the Friends that women could speak, and the first public discourse in London by a woman was given by Annie Downer, who became the wife of a prominent Friend, George Whitehead. New meetings were organized everywhere; one in the house of one Bates on Tower Street, another in the home of Gerard Robert in Thomas Apostles Street, and soon after this a large house known as the "Bull and the Mouth" was

rented by Martin C. Grand near Aldgate, and meetings held in the hotel. From this time on meetings increased in number and size all over England, Ireland and Wales, despite the efforts to break them up and discourage the members.

In this campaign for reform, Cromwell was never neglected. George Fox had preached at him many times, and the earnest and cultivated Francis Howgill was now selected to visit Cromwell in person at Court. He discussed the doctrine of the Friends with the great commander. Cromwell questioned as to whether his message was the Word of God, as Howgill claimed, and promised to see him at a later and more propitious time. Not hearing from him, Howgill wrote him the following letter as a reminder:

“Friend: I was moved of the Lord to come to thee, to declare the word of the Lord, as I was moved of the Lord, and deal plainly with thee, as I was commanded, and not to petition thee for anything, but to declare what the Lord had revealed to me, concerning thee; and when I had delivered what I was commanded, thou questionedst it, whether it was the word of the Lord or not, and soughtest by thy reason to put it off; and we have waited some days since, but cannot speak to thee, therefore I was moved to write to thee, and clear my conscience, and leave thee. Therefore hear the word of the Lord. Thus saith the Lord, I chose thee out of all Nations, when thou wast little in thine own eyes, and threw down the mountains and the powers of the earth before thee, which had established wickedness by a law, and I cut them down, and broke the yokes and bonds of the oppressor, and made them stoop before thee, and I made them as a plain before thee, that thou passedst over them, and trod upon their necks; but thus

saith the Lord, now thy heart is not upright before me, but thou takest counsel, but not of me; and thou art establishing peace, but not by me; and thou art setting up laws, and not by me; and my name is not feared, nor am I sought after; but thine own wisdom thou establishest. What, saith the Lord, have I thrown down all the oppressors, and broken their laws, and thou art now going about to establish them again, and art going to build again that which I have destroyed? Wherefore, thus saith the Lord, Wilt thou limit me, and set bonds to me, when, and where, and how, and by whom I shall declare myself, and publish my name? Then will I break thy cord, and remove thy stake, and exalt myself in thy overthrow. Therefore, this is the word of the Lord to thee, whether thou wilt hear or forbear. If thou take not away all those laws which are made concerning religion, whereby the people which are dear in mine eyes are oppressed, thou shalt not be established; but as thou hast trodden down my enemies by my power, so shalt thou be trodden down by my power, and thou shalt know that I am the Lord; for my Gospel shall not be established by thy sword, nor by thy law, but by my might, and by my power, and by my Spirit. Unto thee, this is the Word of the Lord, Stint not the Eternal Spirit, by which I will publish my name, when and where, and how I will; for if thou dost, thou shalt be as dust before the wind; the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it, and he will perform his promise. For this is that I look for at thy hands, saith the Lord, that thou shouldst undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free. Are not many shut up in prison, and some stocked, some stoned, some shamefully entreated? And some are judged blasphemers by those who know not

the Lord, and by those laws which have been made by the will of man, and stand not in the will of God; and some suffer now because they cannot hold up the types, and so deny Christ come in the flesh; and some have been shut up in prison because they could not swear, and because they abide in the doctrine of Christ; and some, for declaring against sin openly in the markets, have suffered as evil-doers; and now, if thou let them suffer in this nature by those laws, and count it just, I will visit for those things, saith the Lord; I will break the yoke from off their necks, and I will bring deliverance another way, and thou shalt know that I am the Lord.

“Moved of the Lord to declare and write this, by a servant of the Truth for Jesus’ sake, and a lover of thy soul, called

“FRANCIS HOWGILL.”

This letter was seen by some of Cromwell’s retainers and was the cause of a number joining the Friends. George Fox met Cromwell later. He was preaching at Swannington where he was arrested by Colonel Hacker (who later told Margaret Fell that he regretted his action) on the charge that he was plotting against Oliver Cromwell. This was a manifestly false charge, as the Friends held it as one of their prime virtues to be loyal to the head of the government, not to plot or to carry on anything underhanded. It is evident that Colonel Hacker, who was executed later, was not inclined unfairly to Fox, and in the evidence gave him every opportunity to escape; repeatedly asking him to go home and refrain from entering churches. But as Fox would not promise, Colonel Hacker had no alternative but to arrest him. To place the responsibility in the proper hands, Colonel Hacker sent Fox to Cromwell in charge

of Captain Drury of the Guards. Fox at the last moment requested to see Hacker and asked for his release, claiming that he had committed no sin. Hacker refused, and very naturally, as Fox would not give his word to go home and abstain from harassing the priests. Then Fox fell upon his knees and prayed that the Lord might forgive the soldier. He compared him to Pilate (and note here again the ominous and prophetic note of the Quaker), "though he would wash his hands; and when the day of his misery and trial should come upon him, I bid him, Then remember what I had said to him. But he was stirred up and set on by Stephens, and the other priests and professors, wherein their envy and baseness was manifest; who, when they could not overcome me by disputes and arguments, nor resist the Spirit of the Lord that was in me, they got soldiers to take me up."

Afterward, when Colonel Hacker was imprisoned in London, a day or two before his execution, he was put in mind of what he had done against the innocent; and he remembered it, and confessed it to Margaret Fell; saying, "He knew well whom she meant; and he had trouble upon him for it. So his son, who had told his father I had reigned too long, and it was time to have me cut off, might observe how his father was cut off afterwards, he being hanged at Tyburn."

It was evidently the desire of Hacker and Drury to give Fox every opportunity to escape, as on the way to jail Captain Drury several times offered to release him, and at last told him to go, on his promise to keep away from meetings for two weeks. But Fox declined to promise; he refused to bind himself by conditions, and, as a result, in the

morning he was taken before Cromwell, but not before he had visited William Dewsbury and Marmaduke Storr, who were in prison. Cromwell, unquestionably, believed the rumors and charges of a plot against him, led by Fox, as he demanded that Fox give him a signed paper renouncing any attempt against him.

This interview of George Fox with Cromwell was one of the most dramatic events of his career. Without question, he touched the heart of the great commander deeply, and, had the opportunity been afforded, he would have made him more friendly to the Quakers, if not one of them. It is so interesting that I give it in the words of George Fox, taken from his Journal:

“I said little in reply to Captain Drury. But the next morning I was moved of the Lord to write a paper ‘To the Protector, by the name of Oliver Cromwell; wherein I did in the presence of the Lord declare, that I did deny the wearing or drawing of a carnal sword, or any other outward weapon, against him or any man. And that I was sent of God to stand a witness against all violence, and against the works of darkness; and to turn people from darkness to light; to bring them from the occasion of war and fighting to the peaceable gospel; and from being evil-doers, which the magistrate’s sword should be a terror to.’ When I had written what the Lord had given me to write, I set my name to it, and gave it to Captain Drury to hand to O. Cromwell; which he did. After some time Captain Drury brought me before the Protector himself at Whitehall. It was in the morning before he was dressed; and one Harvey, who had come a little among Friends, but was disobedient, waited upon

him. When I came in, I was moved to say, 'Peace be in this house;' and I exhorted him to keep in the fear of God, that he might receive wisdom from him; that by it he might be ordered, and with it might order all things under his hand to God's glory. I spoke much to him of truth; and a great deal of discourse I had with him about religion: wherein he carried himself very moderately. But he said, We quarreled with the priests, whom he called ministers. I told him, 'I did not quarrel with them, they quarreled with me and my friends. But,' said I, 'if we own the prophets, Christ and the apostles, we cannot hold up such teachers, prophets, and shepherds as the prophets, Christ, and the apostles declared against; but we must declare against them by the same power and Spirit.' Then I shewed him that the prophets, Christ, and the apostles declared freely, and declared against them that did not declare freely such as preached for filthy lucre, divined for money, and preached for hire, and were covetous and greedy, like the dumb dogs that could never have enough; and that they, who have the same Spirit as Christ and the prophets, and the apostles had, could not but declare against all such now, as they did then. As I spoke, he several times said, "It was very good and it was truth." I told him 'That all Christendom (so called) had the scriptures, but they wanted the power and Spirit that those had who gave forth the scriptures; and that was the reason they were not in fellowship with the Son, nor with the Father, nor with the scriptures, nor one with another.' Many more words I had with him; but people coming in, I drew a little back. As I was turning, he caught me by the hand, and with tears in his eyes said, *'Come again to my house; for if thou and I were*

but an hour of a day together, we should be nearer one to the other;' adding, That he wished me no more ill than he did to his own soul. I told him, 'If he did, he wronged his own soul; and admonished him to hearken to God's voice, that he might stand in his counsel and obey it; and if he did so, that would keep him from hardness of heart; but if he did not hear God's voice, his heart would be hardened.' He said, it was true. Then I went out; and when Captain Drury came out after me, he told me, His lord Protector said I was at liberty, and might go whither I would. Then I was brought into a great hall, where the Protector's gentlemen were to dine. I asked them, what they brought me thither for? They said, it was by the Protector's order, that I might dine with them. I bid them let the Protector know, I would not eat of his bread, nor drink of his drink. When he heard this, he said, *'Now I see there is a people risen, that I cannot win either with gifts, honours, offices, or places; but all other sects and people, I can.'*

I might add here a comparison between the men who looked into each other's eyes, who were really great generals in two distinct fields. Both fought the battle of the Lord: one with the best-equipped army on earth, armed with the most complete implements of war known; the other, a general of potential worth and skill; a fighter who never knew when he was conquered, and who fought his battles with prayer, passive resistance and tireless energy.

Fox was a tall, striking figure, with sparkling prominent eyes. He wore his hair long, though not in pride. His hat was a low-crowned one, and his coat was devoid of buttons, or ornament of any kind. It was, in fact, the costume

of Charles the First, without its decorations, and if Fox had tipped up the brim of his hat, given it a rakish, modish curve, thrust a splendid ostrich plume through the band that would have fallen down over his shoulder, curled and perfumed his long hair, had his coat made of satin, instead of homespun, and worn a sword, he would have been a copy of Charles the First. The king wore lace at his throat, Fox a plain white linen band. Fox wore breeches of leather and jerkins, knee breeches, coarse stockings and low shoes. He bore in his hand a staff or cane about four feet in length with a large ivory head.

As he met Cromwell, Fox retained his hat, and the Protector, understanding that it was a part of his religion, like his buttonless coat, did not object. He, too, was subdued and quiet, in his dress, despite the fact that he was the first gentleman of England, an uncrowned King. He looked much like a Quaker; wore his hair long behind and a small moustache. His coat was of black cloth; he wore long boots, trunk hose, a hat of a gray color, stockings of gray coarse worsted. In many respects the two men, who glanced at each other with inquiring eyes, were garbed alike.

That the personality of Fox was extremely striking is shown in his short and not altogether pleasant acquaintance with Captain Drury. The latter, a thoughtless, joking fellow, taunted Fox in a good natured manner, and called him a "Quaker." Fox rebuked him, with reason, and so touched the conscience of the soldier that Drury came to him later and apologized, saying that he had cast the last derisive word at him or the Friends he represented.

That Fox resented the term "Quaker" on all occasions is well shown in the following extract from his Journal,

in which he also refers to those who came to hear him out of curiosity, expecting to see the Quaker "quake": "Mind the light in your consciences, ye scoffers and scorers, which Christ hath enlightened you withal; that with it, ye may see yourselves, but ye act, and what ye have acted; for who acts such things shall not inherit the Kingdom of God: all such things are by the Light condemned.

"You who come to witness 'trembling' and 'quaking,' the powers of the earth to be shaken, the lustful nature to be destroyed, the scorning and scoffing nature, judged by the light; in it wait to receive power from him who shakes the earth. That power we own, and our faith stands in it, who were painted sepulchres and serpents; and as the Scribes which all the world scoffs at; the lofty, the proud, the presumptuous, who live in presumption and yet make a profession of the scriptures, as your fathers the Pharisees did, who had the chiefest places in the assemblies, stood praying in the synagogues, and are called of men Masters, whom Christ called Wo against. These are not come so far as the trembling of devils, who believed and trembled. Let that judge you. The light and life of the scripture is seen and made manifest, and with it all you scorers, persecuters, and railers are seen.

Take warning, all ye powers of the earth, how ye persecute them whom the world nicknames and calls Quakers, who dwell in the eternal power of God; lest the hand of the Lord be turned against you, and ye be all cut off. To you, this is the Word of God, fear and tremble, and take warning; for this is the man whom the Lord doth regard, who trembles at his Word; which you, who are of the world, scorn, stock, persecute, and imprison. Here ye may

see ye are contrary to God, contrary to the prophets; and are such as hate what the Lord regards, which we, whom the world scorns, and calls Quakers, own. We exalt and honour that power which makes the devil tremble, shakes the earth, throws down the loftiness of man, the haughtiness of man, and makes the beasts of the field to tremble, and causes the earth to reel to and fro, cleaves it asunder, and overturneth the world. This power we own, honour, and preach up, whom the world scornfully calls Quakers. But all persecutors, railers, and scorers, stockers and whippers, we deny by that power which throweth down all that nature; as seeing that all who act such things, without repentance, shall not inherit the kingdom of God, but are for destruction."

In April, 1655, following the Royalist insurrection, a proclamation was issued, called the Oath of Abjuration. It was aimed at the Quakers who were supposed to be Jesuits in disguise. They were required to take an oath abjuring papal authority, and the doctrine of trans-substantiation. Nothing could be more absurd, yet it was excellent material, a sort of "mental stocks" for the Quakers, as the framers knew their victims could not or would not swear or take oath; hence numbers were sent to jail, notably Ambrose Rigge, Thomas Robertson, Miles Halhead and Thomas Salthouse.

George Fox made an attempt to see Cromwell, to obtain its revocation, but found that his views had changed. The Protector had many troubles. The government was now conducted by an "Instrument" of Government, which confided the executive power to the Protector. The Legislative power was in the hands of Parliament, and the latter

had the power to pass a bill over Cromwell's veto. The Protector apparently did what he could to provide religious liberty. He appointed commissioners to watch ministers, and ostensibly he allowed them, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, Dissenters, to form churches or congregations along their own lines. Had the Quakers not been so aggressive, had they used tact and diplomacy, they would have been spared much suffering, but doubtless, would not have made much headway.

CHAPTER VI.

MARTYRDOM UNDER CROMWELL

In attempting to understand why the Quakers received such brutal treatment under Cromwell, when he was at times so friendly with their leaders, it is necessary to not only keep in mind constantly the political history of England during this period; but to understand the trials and tribulations of Cromwell himself, who was enacting one of the most difficult roles in history, the leader of a great nation groping for light.

Cromwell was the first of the moderns of English history, a statesman, politician, general, preacher, the first of his class to seriously attempt to give the English a system of government approximating that which is enjoyed in America to-day. He was opposed by the old parties, held down by his own followers, cursed by bigots, deceived by pseudo friends and enemies of the Quakers. That he could not satisfy all was evident, and to attempt it was apparently futile. The result of the seeming failure of his plans to suit so many sects and parties, began to have its effect on the Protector. He became sullen to friend and foe, gave way to fierce bursts of rage, and openly displayed his contempt for the men he had to deal with; and after what was doubtless a true and conscientious attempt to solve the situation, he dissolved Parliament in 1655, and again England was involved in political chaos, and hundreds of Quakers were thrown into jail all over the land on the slightest excuse.

Christopher Holder, now known as a preacher, was thrown into jail at Ilchester for refusing to take off his hat. Many of his fellows were also committed, and their friends demanded their release. It was an unpropitious time to write Cromwell a letter, but George Fox stood not on the order of going; he knew that his enemies had been maligning the Quakers, hence he wrote the following and sent it to the Protector:

“The magistrate is not to bear the sword in vain, who ought to be a terror to the evil doers; but the magistrate that bears the sword in vain, as he is not a terror to evil doers, so he is not a praise to them that do well. Now hath God raised up a people by his power, whom people, priests and magistrates, out of the fear of God, scornfully call Quakers, who cry against drunkenness, (for drunkards destroy God’s creatures) and cry against oaths (for because of oaths the land mourns) and these drunkards and swearers, to whom the magistrate’s sword should be a terror, are, we see, at liberty; but for crying against such, many are cast into prison, and for crying against their pride and filthiness, their deceitful merchandise in markets, their cozening, their cheating, their excess and naughtiness, their playing at bowls and shovel-boards, at cards and at dice, and their other vain and wanton pleasures. Who live in pleasures are dead while they live, and who live in wantonness, kill the just. This we know by the Spirit of God which gave forth the scriptures, which God the Father hath given to us, and hath placed his righteous law in our hearts; which law is a terror to evil doers, and answers that which is of God in every man’s conscience. They who act contrary to the measure of God’s Spirit in every man’s con-

science, cast the law of God behind their backs, and walk despitefully against the Spirit of Grace. The magistrate's sword, we see, is borne in vain, whilst evil doers are at liberty to do evil, and they that cry against such are, for so doing, punished by the magistrate, who hath turned his sword backward against the Lord. Now the wicked one fenceth himself, and persecutes the innocent, and vagabonds and wanderers, for crying against sin, unrighteousness, and ungodliness openly, in the markets and in the highways; or as railers, because they tell them what judgment will come upon those that follow such practices. Here they that depart from iniquity are become a prey, and few lay it to heart. But God will thresh the mountains, beat the hills, cleave the rocks, and cast into his press which is trodden without the city, and will bathe his sword in the blood of the wicked and unrighteous. You that have drunk the cup of abominations, an hard cup have you to drink, you who are the enemies of God, of you he will be avenged. You in whom something of God is remaining, consider: If the sword was not borne in vain, but turned against evil doers, the righteous would not suffer, and be cast into holes, dungeons, corners, prisons, and houses of correction, as peace-breakers, for crying against sin opening, as they are commanded of the Lord, and for crying against the covetousness of the priests and their false worship; to exact money of poor people, whom they do no work for. Oh! where will you appear in the day of the Lord? How will you stand in the day of his righteous judgment? How many goals and houses of correction are now made places to put the Lambs of Christ in, for following him and obeying his commands! The royal law of Christ, "To do as

ye would be done by," is trodden down under foot; so that men can profess him in words, but crucify him wheresoever he appears, and cast him into prison, as the talkers of him always did in generations and ages past. The labours, which God the Master of the Harvest, hath sent into his Vineyard, do the chief of the priests and the rulers now take counsel together against to cast them into prison; here are the fruits of priests, people and rulers, without the fear of God. The day is come and coming that every man's work doth and shall appear; glory be to the Lord God forever! See and consider the days you have spent, and the days you do spend, for this is your day of visitation. Many have suffered great fines, because they could not swear, but abide in Christ's doctrine, who saith, Swear not at all; and by that means are they made a prey upon for abiding in the command of Christ. Many are cast into prison and made a prey upon, because they cannot take the oath of abjuration, tho they denied all that is abjured in it; and by that means many of the messengers and ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ are cast into prison, because they will not swear nor go out of Christ's command. Therefore, O man, consider; to the measure of the life of God in thee I speak. Many also lie of goals, because they cannot pay the priests tythes; many have their goods spoiled, and treble damages taken of them; many are whipped and beaten in the houses of correction, who have broken no law. These things are done in thy name, in order to protect them in these actions. If men fearing God bore the sword, and covetousness was hated, and men of courage for God were sent up, then they would be a terror to evil doers, and a praise to them that do well; and not cause such to suffer.

Here many would be heard in our land, and righteousness would stand up and take place; which giveth not place to the righteousness, but judgeth it. To the measure of God's Spirit in thee I speak, that thou mayest consider and rule for God: that thou mayest answer that which is of God in every man's conscience; for that is it which bringeth to honour all men in the Lord. Therefore, consider for whom thou rulest, that thou mayest come to receive power from God to rule for him; and all that is contrary to God may by his light be condemned.

From a lover of thy soul, who desires thy eternal good.

G. F."

Cromwell paid no attention to the complaint. He was sullen, suspicious, and disgusted. To a friend of the Quakers, he said in keen and subtle sarcasm, "Each sect saith, O, give me liberty, but give it and to spare; he will not yield to anyone else. *Liberty of conscience is a natural right*, and he that would have it, ought to give it. I desire from my heart. I have prayed for it, I have watched for the day to see union and right understanding between the godly people, Scots, English, Jews, Gentiles, Presbyterians, Independents, and nobles and all."

The situation was more than pathetic. Cromwell was not perfect, but unquestionably he was the greatest political reformer England had seen. He, doubtless, was deeply and pathetically disappointed that he had not succeeded. Cromwell had experimented with various methods, but his views and ideas were doubtless too advanced for the masses; he was attempting the impossible.

The continual warring between sects, violent and unreasonable, wore on Cromwell's patience. When Mazarin,

the cardinal of the French, replied to his demand for better treatment of the Vaudois by asking good treatment for English Catholics, the disgusted Protector replied that he could do no more, which meant that he would not. If Cromwell stood for anything in England, it was for religious toleration, but every sect was disappointed; some were ugly and vindictive, others nagging, others again persistent to the limit of patience. It is little wonder that the great Protector began to steel his heart against them. He was a true reformer, the greatest political protagonist for morality that England had produced; but to satisfy the scores of sects, to subdue the Royalists and Papists, to stem the revolts, to avoid assassinations at the hands of fanatics, doubtless wore upon him. As a consequence, the Friends or Quakers suffered with the rest, and in 1655-6 over one thousand were in jail; many being horribly treated, and a certain percentage died from the effects of years or months in dungeons.

When the conditions of life in England at this time are realized, there is little wonder that the Quakers were terrorized, and that Cromwell was unable to protect them. The masses were still steeped in ignorance. There was an appalling illiteracy, despite the advancement in the arts, and there was a sordid, brutal side, the remnant of savagery, just as there is to-day in a lesser degree in every community, in every land.

Every point made by Fox and his preachers was a blow in the face to the church of England, to Catholicism. I have watched women charging the House of Parliament, in London, fighting like men for the rights of suffrage; this in 1910. How much more amazing and shocking was it in

1655 to have the claim made for equal rights and to see that scandalous outrage, a woman like Margaret Fell, preaching, heading a propoganda for religious liberty, anti-slavery, and everything else that was not believed in, or had never been thought of by the majority of the unawakened masses of the seventeenth century. Little wonder that the Royalists, the Papists, the Ranters, the uncontrollable masses everywhere were aroused. No wonder they thought the Reformers and Progressives mad and charged them with all the crimes on the calendar, as no one but a mad man or woman would contend for what they did in 1655. Here, briefly, is what the Quakers were demanding:

1. Religious liberty.
2. Equal rights of women.
3. Prohibition.
4. The Simple Life.
5. Reforms. The example of Christ.
6. Abatement of War.
7. Arbitration in all conflicts, based on instruction in the Bible.
8. Purity of Life.
9. Abolishment of crime, prize fights and fighting and all lewd sports.
10. Abolishment of tythes or taxes to support the church.
11. Abolishment of paid ministry.
12. In favor of civil marriages.
13. The right to affirm, instead of the use of oaths prohibited by the Bible.
14. Against imprisonment for debt.

15. Prison reform and moral aid to prisoners.
16. Rejection of rites of the Church, as baptism, etc., on the ground that a spiritual understanding was the intention.
17. Against human slavery.
18. The rights of the poor, ignorant and savages.
19. Against extreme luxuries and display in living.
20. Against bowing down to anyone who was really a servant of the people, kings, emperors, judges, popes, and all officers.
21. That God communicated personally to every man, woman and child.
22. Religious toleration.
23. Equal rights to Jews.

All these reforms are the active questions in England and America to-day, but the Quakers began the fight for them two hundred and sixty-four years ago.

Despite the increasing reserve of Cromwell and his changed attitude to the Quakers, the leaders, many of whom were men of influence, and some his old soldiers, did not fail to importune him to give them real religious toleration. As we have seen, in July, 1655, Cromwell dismissed the first Protectorate Parliament. His troubles were increasing; the love of power was possibly growing in the heart of the great Commoner. He had allowed no member to enter the Parliament who would not sign a document not to change the government, as he had tried to force George Fox to sign; not to preach against the government.

One hundred members of Parliament refused to bind themselves and became his enemies. Among others, the Quakers protested that this was not liberty, that freedom,

toleration was being strangled in its birth. Whatever he may have thought or intended, Cromwell made himself practically a Dictator when he dissolved Parliament and the shadow of Charles the Second loomed dark on the political horizon. That he had experimented with every possible condition of government appears to be true. He had tried a purely religious rule; he then established a government of major generals in which the country was divided into districts, with a major general as the governor of each. He had also tested government by the representation of the people. All seemed to be unsatisfactory and the looker-on can well imagine that he must have thought seriously of a kingdom and a House of Cromwell. Whether he did or not, the Quakers suspected it and at once protested in a letter prepared by Edward Burrough:

QUAKER WARNING TO CROMWELL

"I as one that had obtained mercy from the Lord, and unto whom his word is committed, being moved of him, do hereby in his presence yet once more warn thee, that thou fear before him, and diligently hearken to him, and seek him with all thy heart, that thou mayest know his will and counsel concerning thee, and mayest do it, and find favor in his sight, and live. Now is the day that his hand is stretched forth unto thee, to make thee a blessing or to leave thee a curse forever; and the days of thy visitation are near an end; when God will no more call unto thee, nor hear thee, when in the day of thy trouble thou callest to him. And if thou rejectest the counsel of the Lord, and followest the desires of thine own heart, and the wills of men, and wilt not have the light of the world, Christ Jesus,

only to rule thee, and to teach thee, which condemns all evil, then shall evil surely fall upon thee, if thou lovest not the light in thee which condemns it; and the judgments of God, nor the day of his last visitation with vengeance, thou mayest not escape. Therefore consider and mark my words, and let this counsel be acceptable unto thee; let it move thee to meekness, to humbleness, and to fear before the Lord; assuredly knowing that it is he that changeth times and things, and that bringeth down and setteth up whomsoever he will; and how that thou wast raised from a low estate and set over all thine enemies. And in that day when thou wast raised up, when the fear of the Lord was before thy face, and thy heart was towards him, and thou was but little in thine own eyes, then it was well with thee, and the Lord blessed thee. And it was not once thought concerning thee, that the hands of the ungodly would have been strengthened against the righteous under thee, or that such grievous burdens and oppressions would ever have been paid upon the just, and acted against them in thy name, and under thy dominion, as unrighteously have come to pass in these three years; and this thy suffering of such things is thy transgression, and thou hast not requited the Lord well for his goodness unto thee, nor fulfilled his will in suffering that to be done unto thee, and in thy name, which the Lord raised thee against, and to break down, hadst thou been faithful to the end.

Again, consider, and let it move on thy heart, not to exalt thyself, nor to be high-minded, but to fear continually, knowing that thou standest not by thyself, but by another, and that he is able to abase thee into the will of thine enemies whensoever he will; and how the Lord hath pre-

served thee sometimes wonderfully, and doth unto this day, from the murderous plots, and crafty policy of evil men, who seek thy evil, and would rejoice in thy fall, and in the desolation of thy family and countries; how have they, and do they lay snares for thy feet, that thou mayest be cut off from amongst men, and die unhappily and be counted accursed? And yet to this day he hath preserved thee, and been near to keep thee, though thou hast hardly known it; and the Lord's end is love to thee in all these things, and yet a little longer to try thee, that thou mayest give him the glory.

O, that thy heart were opened to see his hand, that thou mightest live unto him and die in peace. And beware lest hardness of heart possess thee, if thou slight his love, and so be shut up in darkness, and given to the desires of thine enemies, and left to the counsels of treacherous men, who may seek to exalt thee by flattery that they may the better cast thee down, and destroy thee, and blot out thy name in reproach, and make thy posterity a people miserable. But now, O consider, and let it enter into thy heart, for thou hast not answered the Lord, but been wanting to him, for all this, and hast chosen thy own way and glory, rather than his, and not fulfilled his counsel in raising thee; for the bonds of cruelty are not loosed by thee, and the oppressed are not altogether set free; neither is oppression taken off from the back of the poor, nor the laws regulated, nor the liberty of pure conscience altogether allowed; but these dominions are filled with cruel oppressions, and the poor groan everywhere under the heavy hand of injustice; the needy are trodden down under foot, and the oppressed cry for deliverance, and are ready to faint for true justice

and judgment. The proud exalt themselves against the poor, and the high-minded and rebellious contemn the meek of the earth; the horn of the ungodly is exalted above the Lord's heritage, and they that are departed from iniquity, are become a prey to oppressors; and the cruel hearted deal cruelly with the innocent in these nations. Many are unjustly and woefully sufferers, because they cannot swear on this or that occasion; though in all cases they speak the truth, and do obey Christ's commands; even such are trodden upon by unjust fines charged upon them; and this is by the corruptness of some that bear rule under thee, who rule not for God as they ought, but turn the sword of justice. Some suffer long and tedious imprisonments, and others cruel stripes and abuses, and danger of life many times, from wicked men, for reproving sin, and crying against the abominations of the times, (which the Scriptures also testify against,) in streets or other places: some having been sent to prison, taken on the highway and no evil charged against them; and others committed, being taken out of peaceable meetings, and whipped, and sent to prison, without transgression of any law, just or unjust, wholly through envy and rage of the devil, and such who have perverted judgment and justice; and some in prisons have suffered superabundantly from the hands of the cruel jailers and their servants, by beatings and threatenings, and putting irons on them, and not suffering any of their friends to visit them with necessities; and some have died in the prisons, whose lives were not dear to them, whose blood will be reckoned on account against thee one day. Some have suffered hard cruelties, because they could not respect persons, and bow with hat or knee; and from these cruelties

canst thou not altogether be excused in the sight of God, being brought forth in thy name, and under thy power. Consider, friend, and be awakened to true judgment; let the Lord search thy heart; and lay these things to mind that thou mayest be an instrument to remove every burden, and mayest at last fulfill the will of God. O, be awakened, be awakened, and seek the Lord's glory, and not thy own, lest thou perish before the Lord and men: nay, if men would give thee honour, and high titles, and princely thrones, take them not; for that which will exalt and honour thee in the world, would betray thee to the world, and cast thee down in the sight of the world; and this is God's word to thee: What! shall the whole nation be purged of men and thou the cause of it? And wilt thou transgress by building again that which thou hast destroyed? Give heed unto my words, and understand my speech: be not exalted by man lest man betray thee. Deal favorably, and relieve the oppressed; boast not thyself, though the Lord hath used thee in his hands; but know that when he will, he can cast thee as a rod, out of his hand into the fire; for in his hand thou art. If thou wilt honour him, he will honour thee; otherwise he can, yea, and will confound thee, and break and make thee weak as water before him. His love through my heart breathes unto thee: He would thy happiness, if thou wilfully contemn it not, by exalting thyself, and seeking thy own glory, and hardening thy heart against the cry of the poor. This I was moved in bowels of pity to lay before thee, who am thy friend, not in flattery, but in an upright heart, who wishes well unto thee in the Lord.

E. Burrough."

Burrough repeatedly wrote to the Lord Protector and interviewed him, protesting against the oppression of the Quakers, but with little or no result. Cromwell was offered the crown of England by his Parliament, and doubtless might have accepted, but his army was not in sympathy with the movement, which might have changed the history of England; the great Commoner saw the shadow on the wall.

If the charges made against the Quakers are analyzed it will be found that at this time they were often punished for pseudo crimes that were non-essentials. The Quakers were nearly three centuries ahead of their time in demands for reform, yet they made a point of certain things, which from a modern standpoint, were not worthy the time and thought given to them. One was their refusal to swear. In a certain sense, they confused the oath required by courts and various legal ceremonies with the oath used as a malediction. The oath in a court is merely an assurance, an affirmative, made sacred, an assurance that the testator is telling the truth. To affirm is equally offensive, as an affirmation has all the essentials of an oath. Hundreds of Quakers were thrown into jail because they refused to swear or take oath. The very idea of an oath was repellant, and repugnant, and they held to their point "swear not at all" until they were allowed to affirm, and affirm they do to-day. They also wore their hats as a protest against recognizing any power but God.

A typical scene in court is described in the following from the Journal of George Fox, and this was repeated scores of times in America and England. Quakers went to loathsome dungeons, rather than remove the hat or take an oath: "When we were brought into the court, we stood

a pretty while with our hats on, and always quiet; and I was moved to say, 'Peace be amongst you.' Judge Glyn, a Welchman, then Chief Justice of England, said to the jailor, 'What be these you have brought here into the court?' 'Prisoners, my lord,' said he. 'Why do you not put off your hats?' said the Judge to us. 'We said nothing. 'Put off your hats.' Still we said nothing. Then said the Judge, 'The court commands you to put off your hats.' Then I queried, 'Where did ever any magistrate, king, or judge, from Moses to Daniel, command any to put off their hats, when they came before them in their courts, either amongst the Jews, (the people of God) or amongst the heathen? And if the law of England doth command any such thing, shew me that law either written or printed.' The judge grew very angry, and said, 'I do not carry my law-books on my back.' But said I, 'Tell me where it is printed in any statute book, that I may read it.' Then said the judge, 'Take him away, prevaricator.' So they took us away and put us among the thieves. Presently after he called to the gaoler, 'Bring them up again! Come,' said he, 'Where had they hats from Moses to Daniel? Come, answer me, I have you fast now.'

"I replied, 'Thou mayest read in the Third of Daniel, that the three children were cast into the fiery furnace by Nebuchadnezzar's command with their coats, their hose, and *their hats on*.' This plain instance stopped him; so that not having anything else to the point, he cried again, 'Take them away, gaoler.' Accordingly we were taken away, and thrust in among the thieves; where we were kept a great while; and then without being called, the sheriff's men and troopers made way for us to get through the

crowd, and guarded us to prison again, a multitude of people following us, with whom we had much discourse and reasoning at the gaol."

This led George Fox to issue a paper against swearing and his reason. It is as follows: "Take heed of giving people oaths to swear: for Christ our Lord and Master saith, 'Swear not at all, but let your communication be yea, yea, and nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil.' If any was to suffer death, it must be by the hand of two or three witnesses; and the hands of the witnesses were to be first upon him to put him to death. The apostle James said, 'My brethren above all things, swear not, neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other oath, lest ye fall into condemnation.' Hence ye may see those that swear fall into condemnation, and are out of Christ's and the apostles' doctrine. Every one of you have a light from Christ, who saith, 'I am the light of the world,' and doth enlighten every man that cometh into the world. He saith, 'Learn of me,' whose doctrine, and that of the apostle, is not to swear; but, 'Let your yea be yea, and your nay be nay, in all your communication; for whatsoever is more cometh of evil;' they that go into more than yea and nay go into evil, and are out of the doctrine of Christ. If you say, 'That the oath was the end of controversy and strife,' those who are in strife are out of Christ's doctrine; for he is the covenant of peace, and who are in that, are in the covenant of peace. The apostle brings that but as an example: as men swearing by the greater, and the oath was the end of controversy and strife among men; saying, Verily, men swear by the greater; but God having no greater swears by himself concerning Christ; who, when he was come,

taught not to swear at all. So those who are in him, and follow him, cannot but abide in his doctrine. If you say they swore under the law, and under the prophets, Christ is the end of the law and of the prophets, to every one that believeth for righteousness' sake. Now mark, if you believe "I am the light of the world, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world," saith Christ, by whom it was made; now every man of you that is come into the world is enlightened with a light that comes from Christ, by which the world was made, that all of you through him might believe, that is the end for which he doth enlighten you. Now if you do believe in the light, as Christ commands, 'Believe in the light, that you may be children of light;' you believe in Christ and learn of him, who is the way to the Father. This is the light which shews the evil actions you have all acted, the ungodly deeds you have committed, the ungodly speeches you have spoken; and all your oaths, cursed speaking, and ungodly actions. If you hearken to this light, it will let you see all that you have done contrary to it; and loving it, it will turn you from your evil deeds, evil ways, and evil words, to Christ, who is not of the world; but is the light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and testifies against the world, that the deeds thereof are evil. So doth the light in every man, received from him, testify against all evil works, that they are contrary to the light; and each shall give an account at the day of Judgment, for every idle word that is spoken. This light shall bring every tongue to confess, yea and every knee to bow, at the name of Jesus: in which light, if you believe, you shall not come into condemnation, but to

Christ, who is not of the world, to him by whom it was made: but if you believe not in the light, this is your condemnation.
G. F."

The Quakers were the first we have seen to allow women to speak in meetings, and the fact that they did, and insisted upon it with fervor and enthusiasm, brought upon them great suffering and martyrdom, and they were arrested and confined in America. This persecution of defenceless women was not confined to the ignorant, illiterate or to extreme emotional cases, but to the refined and cultivated, as Margaret Fell, and later Mary Dyer, who was hanged on Boston Common. Among the first women to suffer in England were Elizabeth Heavens and Elizabeth Fletcher, who were arrested in Oxford in June, 1654, for speaking in the streets in favor of Quakerism. In fact, they were ministers who felt called upon to protest against the low standards of the times.

It is well to bear in mind, that during this period the Friends were not attempting to establish a new church or a religion, they were not proselyting; they were merely protesting against existing methods as ungodly and unchristian. These two women attempted to speak to the students and were mobbed. One was pushed into a grave. Then they were tied together and thrown under the town pump, into ditches, and so foully treated that soon after one of them died; but not before both were publicly whipped and driven from the city as outcasts and beyond the pale of human consideration.

Another minister, named Barbara Blaugdone, was thrown into prison, later stabbed, and again thrown into prisons at Marlborough, Devonshire, Moulton, Barnstaple and

Bediford. In Great Torrington, a priest so influenced the Mayor that this delicate woman was arrested and beaten, until men and women who witnessed it, were sickened by the flow of blood. The officials were amazed, as the woman sang praises to the Lord as they cut and lashed her bare flesh.

I do not intend to make this a book of martyrs, hence can but touch on the horrors of this martyrdom, and the brutal, inconceivable things perpetrated under the banner of the cross, only explainable under the premise that human beings were still in the age of partial savagery. Examining the evidence of these courts and trials two hundred and fifty years later, when it is supposed time has tempered passion and prejudice, the judicial observer is impressed by the evident unfairness of the enemies of Fox; and also with the fact that the remarks of the Quaker leader, while not so intended, must have been interpreted as extremely offensive. One illustration may suffice: Fox and Edward Pyot of Bristol were arrested, and there was, in all probability, so ugly a feeling against them, that if an excuse had offered, their enemies would gladly have seen them hung. Major Ceely, Justice of the Peace, was testifying, and said, "If it please you, my lord, to hear me: this man struck me, and gave me such a blow as I never had in my life." "At this," Fox says, "I smiled in my heart, and replied, 'Major Ceely, art thou a justice of peace, and a major of a troop of horse, and tellest the judge in the face of the court and country, that I, a prisoner struck thee, and gave thee such a blow as thou never hadst the like in thy life? What! art thou not ashamed? Prithee, Major Ceely,' said I, 'where did I strike thee? and who is thy

witness for that? who was by?' He said, 'It was in the Castle-Green, and Captain Bradden was standing by when I struck him.' I desired the judge to let him produce his witness for that; and called again upon Major Ceely to come down from the bench, telling him, it was not fit the accuser should sit as judge over the accused. When I called again for his witness, he said Captain Bradden was his witness. Then I said, 'Speak, Captain Bradden, didst thou see me give him such a blow, and strike him as he saith?' Captain Bradden made no answer, but bowed his head towards me. I desired him to speak up, if he knew any such thing: but he only bowed his head again. 'Nay,' said I, 'speak up, and let the court and country hear; let not bowing of the head serve the turn. If I have done so, let the law be inflicted on me; I fear not sufferings, nor death itself, for I am an innocent man concerning all his charge.' But Captain Bradden never testified to it. The judge, finding those snares would not hold, cried, 'Take him away, gaoler;' and when we were taken away, he fined us twenty marks apiece for not putting off our hats; to be kept in prison till we paid it; and sent us back to the gaol.

"At night Captain Bradden came to see us, and seven or eight justices who were very civil to us, and told us, They believed, neither the judge nor any in the court gave credit to those charges which Major Ceely had accused me of in the face of the country. And Captain Bradden said Major Ceely had an intent to have taken away my life, if he could have got another witness. 'But,' said I, 'Captain Bradden, why didst not thou witness for me, or against me, seeing that Major Ceely produced thee for a witness that thou sawest me strike him? When I desired thee to speak either

for me or against me, according to what thou sawest or knewest, thou wouldst not speak.' 'Why,' said he, 'when Major Ceely and I came by you, as you were walking in the Castle-green, he put off his hat to you, and said, 'How do you, Mr. Fox? your servant, Sir.' Then you said to him, 'Major Ceely, take heed of hypocrisy and of a rotten heart; for when came I to be thy master, and thou my servant? Do servants use to cast their masters in prison? This was the great blow he meant that you gave him.' Then I called to mind that they walked by us, and that he spoke so to me, and I to him; which hypocrisy and rotten-heartedness he manifested openly, when he complained of this to the judge in open court, and in the face of the country; whom he would have made believe that I struck him with my hand."

The strong affection the followers of George Fox had for him is illustrated when he was lying in Doomsdale Prison. One of his friends, James Parnell, went to Cromwell and asked to be placed in the cell in the place of Fox. Cromwell was greatly impressed by this evidence of true devotion, and turning toward the group of his listening followers, he said, "Which of you would do as much for me, if I were in the same condition?"

The feature of the Quakers which attracted the most attention was their extraordinary persistence, and the fact that they never retaliated upon their enemies, except to rebuke them, generally with appropriate quotations from the Bible. When one went to jail, another minister soon appeared to repeat the offense; and there is little question that these ministers rising at the end of a Presbyterian or Episcopalian or Catholic service and criticising the particular form was extremely offensive, and caused much of the

trouble, despite the fact that there was precedent for the intrusion. It should be remembered that these remarks by Quakers in churches or "steeple-houses" were not gratuitous insults; they were made by conscientious men and women who believed they were carrying out the will of the Lord.

There was from now on hardly an indignity that the Quakers were not subjected to; and volumes could be filled with accounts of the sufferings of these men and women for the sake of a principle.

Humphrey Smith was arrested at Eversham and placed in the stocks, and later the same Mayor placed two Quaker ministers, Margaret Newby and Elizabeth Courton, in the stocks for fifteen hours on a freezing day, and then sent them out of the town. There was not a jail in England, even the vilest dungeon, but contained at some time one or more Quakers who were shown little or no mercy. Many Quakers in 1656 went abroad. William Caton, who had made a trip through Scotland, sailed for Holland, where he preached in Latin.

The cause of the Quakers in 1656-7 and later, was, undoubtedly, injured by fanatics. One by the name of Naylor, was an ex-soldier. He attracted a number of male and female fanatics and extremists to him, and they unquestionably became a public nuisance. The most charitable explanation is that they were partly demented, a condition not unusual in times of great religious excitement. But this did not justify Parliament taking up the matter and condemning Naylor to a horrible punishment, a feature of which was to have his tongue bored with a red hot iron, when he rightly should have had the attention of

a physician and been placed in confinement as a religious fanatic. What actually happened was that the seeming attention given to this unfortunate man, caused him to become in a sense a martyr; and his writings and sayings to receive much more attention from contemporary authors than they deserved. Naylor's actions brought down much criticism upon the Quakers, altogether undeserved, as the man and his followers were in the main irresponsible.

There were so many Friends in jail at that time that every attempt was made to obtain justice for them. Thomas Aldam and Anthony Pearson travelled through England visiting all the jails making copies of the commitments of Quakers, compiling a list that was so menacing to public safety that it was not supposed that Cromwell would have the temerity to pass it by. But he refused to intercede and Thomas Aldam, who presented it, took his cap from his head, and as a "sign" tore it in shreds before the Protector, remarking in prophetic words, "So shall thy government be rent from thee and thy house."

The Quakers were not politicians. They were not gifted with the arts of diplomacy, and they cared little for the fact that Cromwell's interests were bound up in the Independents and Presbyterians, and that he could not afford to stand boldly by the Quakers and offend the former. They demanded the release of their friends, as pure justice, and the abrogation of the offensive laws because they were wrong. In the fifth month of 1656, the enemies of the Quakers succeeded in securing the issuing of a warrant from the session of Exon for the apprehension of all Quakers, and the number in jail was so rapidly increased that in some regions it was an embarrassment, due to the fact that such

prisoners on liberation began at once to preach again, only to be arrested.

George Fox, now in the dungeon at Launceston, sent forth many appeals to the powers and the people, which may be found in his *Journal*. Cromwell, to whom many of these appeals were made, well knew that the thousands of Quakers languishing in jail was in a political sense disquieting; but he was not unmindful of other sects who opposed them. His policy in Ireland was bringing down upon him the curses of the people, yet he was making England respected abroad by showing a mail-clad front. His power and ambition forced him to antagonize Spain and to make friends with Sweden as the natural enemy of the Anti-Christ. Spain and France were warring, and one of the questions he had to decide was, which to side with. He chose France and all Europe trembled as his shadow loomed against the chalk-cliffs of England. The Puritan Admiral Blake won a battle over the Spaniards, and Admiral Penn, father of William, proceeded against San Domingo, which resulted in the taking of Jamaica and the establishment of England as a power in the West Indies. By the aid of Cromwell, France became supreme on the continent, and he took Dunkirk to repay England. All this time, the court of Cromwell was that anachronism of the time, pure, clean and based on Christian ideals. No man was appointed to office who was known to be immoral or dishonest; yet Cromwell permitted gross atrocities against the Quakers.

George Fox, again out of jail, was preaching throughout the country. With John Ap John he travelled in Wales, then went to Scotland, where he was ordered to appear before the council to whom he made an address.

In 1688, the Protector died, and England was again involved in intense political excitement, and the affairs of the Quakers for the moment forgotten. During the ten years of Cromwell's supremacy, about two thousand Quakers had suffered tortures; many had died in prisons, hundreds died later from horrible injuries, of diseases due to their imprisonment, and many were ruined financially or driven away. Yet on the death of Cromwell, they had increased and now assumed, at least to their enemies, formidable proportions.

As Parliament had authorized Cromwell to indicate his successor, he named his son on his deathbed. The latter took office immediately and as quickly demonstrated that he was his father's son but in name. It was soon apparent that the Royalists, Republicans and other parties were all striving for control. Richard Cromwell came into power practically an unknown quantity. His attitude to the Quakers was friendly; but he was a man of little or no force, and the general form of government retrograded to that in vogue at the beginning of the Civil War. The Royalists continually endeavored to create unrest, aided by the ambitions of individuals and various parties. The army was divided against itself. General Monk, who had served many parties and masters, was now a dominant figure, and in the midst of political pandemonium, he headed his army of veterans in Scotland, crossed the English line, and marched toward London. A clever politician, as well as soldier, Monk was looking to the main chance, and arriving in London, he carefully felt his way, and being the balance of power, declared in favor of a free Parliament. Monk became the hero of the day. The new Parliament

met at Westminster and the joint houses invited King Charles the Second to return to the country. This was not a happy period for the Quakers, as the following letter of Edward Billing well discloses:

"Since General Monk's coming to London with his army, we have been very much abused in our meetings; as in the Palace-yard, where we were pulled out by the hair of the head, kicked and knocked down, both men and women, in a manner not here to be expressed. Many were the knocks and kicks and blows myself and wife received. And this was done by General Monk's foot, who came into the meeting with sword and pistol, being, as they said, bound by an oath to leave never a sectarian in England; saying that they had orders from Lord Monk to pull us out of our meeting; which, with inexpressible cruelty, they did. The meeting in the Palace-yard, I suppose thou knowest.

"After they had beaten us in the house with their swords in the scabbards, and with whips, out they drag us, and kick us into the kennel, where many a blow I received, being knocked and kicked through the Palace-yard, even to the hall door. Being got within the hall, after a little recovery I was moved to write a little note to the Speaker in the House,—Parliament being then sitting. As soon as I got into the lobby, I sent into the House for Sergeant Chedleton, who came to me, and I gave him the note, laying it upon him to give to the Speaker, which he did, and it was forthwith read in the House, when an enemy stands up and says, 'The multitude is appeased,' &c., &c. I passed through them back again to the meeting house, when they fell upon me the second time, as before. In my passing back to my own lodging they ceased not, but kept crying, 'Kill him, kill him!'

"We afterwards met Colonel Rich, who was much affected to see and hear of our usage. With him, I passed through the Palace-yard again, the soldiers and multitude being just then beating a woman of the house at the door, and plundering the house, notwithstanding it had been said that the tumult was appeased. At last I got to Whitehall, where General Monk was, with whom I had present audience. In a few words I laid the whole matter before him, and told him that the soldiers said they had his order for it. (He said) he might say they had not. I answered, that since he and his army had come to town we could not pass the streets without much abuse; not having been so much abused these many years—nay, I say, never by soldiers."

It was nearly ten years after George Fox began to preach, or in 1654, that the doctrine of the Quakers began to be preached in Ireland to any extent. William Edmundson, who later became one of the most distinguished ministers among the Friends, was the first to join them. He was a soldier under Cromwell and had served in Scotland. In 1654, Miles Halhead, James Lancaster and Miles Bateman visited Ireland, and later John Tiffin, who travelled over the country with William Edmundson, and Richard Clayton, who now reached Ireland, preaching at Colerain, for which they were banished. They visited Kilmore and Antrim, but were thrown into jail at Armagh, from which Edmundson was soon released.

George Fox had sent Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill to Ireland, and the program was arranged with such skill and generalship, that no sooner did one set of preachers visit a locality and be committed to jail, than another

party would take their place; in this way a continual interest was kept up. These Friends made many converts in Munster. Edward Burrough preached to great crowds from his saddle as he rode down the street. A number of women ministers visited Ireland at this time, among them Elizabeth Fletcher, Elizabeth Smith, Anne Gould and Julian Westwood, who performed prodigies of valor in the defense of the doctrine of the Friends. The method of attack of Quakers is well illustrated in Limerick, where a famous religious disputant, named Captain Wilkinson, at one time chief magistrate, held forth. The wandering Quaker preachers heard of him, and one night, headed by one Abraham Newbold, entered the hall where he was preaching, and after listening a few moments, cried out in stentorian voice, "Serpent be silent!" a novel method of discussion which either so enraged or astonished the officer that he fainted away and had to be carried out, and soon gave up discussing religion, at least with Quakers.

Then out of Scotland came the Barclays of Kirk-town-hill. David was a soldier in the army of Gustavus-Adolphus, King of Sweden, and later a colonel in the Scottish Army. He became governor of Strathboggie and married Catherine Gordon, granddaughter of the Earl of Sutherland, a third cousin of James the first. Later he entered Parliament, and was prominent in upholding the waning ambitions of Cromwell in the direction of the throne. Later he was thrown into Edinburgh Castle as a prisoner, and became a Quaker. It was David Barclay, who, when taunted as to his change of station, now beaten and insulted by the riff-raff, replied, "I find more true satisfaction in being insulted for my religious principles than I did when

the magistrates of the City of Aberdeen met me miles from the city to do me honor and escort me to public entertainments in their town house." David was the father of Robert Barclay, the author of the "Apology" and voluminous writer on the Friends, one of the most distinguished followers of George Fox, a man of highest culture and learning.

Samuel Randall and Joseph Pike also preached in Ireland. Meetings were held in Scotland as early as 1653, especially at Drumbowry and Heads, Colonel Osborne, Richard Rae and Alexander Hamilton being the preachers. These men had no connection with the Quakers, but they had possibly heard of George Fox and they soon joined him, when Christopher Fell, George Wilson, John Grave, George Atkinson, Sarah Cheevers and Catherine Evans, preachers, came that way. They were followed in 1654 by Myles Halhead and James Lancaster, and in 1655 William Caton and John Stubbs preached in Scotland. In 1657 George Fox visited Edinburgh, and in 1658 John Burnyeat visited Aberdeen, making a convert of Alexander Jaffray and many others.

The Friends were as badly treated in Ireland as elsewhere. Edmundson was placed in the stocks at Belturbet, and the women thrown into jail; while Robert Wardell was placed in the stocks for talking to the Provost.

In 1660 Christopher Holder appeared in London from the American colony with but one ear, the other having been cut off in Boston on the order of Governor Endicott, to punish Holder for the high crime of insisting upon the right of free conscience in America. Holder, doubtless, attracted much attention as his objective was to appeal to Cromwell in behalf of the Friends in the colonies. While

here, Holder was married to Mary Scott, of a well-known and distinguished family of Providence, Rhode Island. With George Fox and Samuel Shattock and others, he was interested in the restoration of Charles the Second, and labored to that end.

CHAPTER VII.

UNDER THE RESTORATION

(Charles II.)

1660-1667.

The first official document relating to the Quakers under the Restoration was General Monk's distinctly friendly reply to the Billing appeal:

"I do require all officers and soldiers to forbear to disturb the peaceable meetings of the Quakers, they doing nothing prejudicial to the Parliament or Commonwealth of England.

George Monk."

This was necessary; moreover, the King when paving the way to return, had thrown a sop to the Quakers in an outline of the policy that should govern him, as follows:

"Breda, Fourth month of 1660.

"Because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other, which when they shall hereafter unite, in a freedom of conversation, will be composed, or better understood; *we do declare a liberty of consciences* and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question for differences of opinion, in matters of religion,—which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom, and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of Parliament as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us for the full granting of that indulgence."



GENERAL MONK



LOUIS IV.

One of the King's first proclamations set free all who were imprisoned on account of religious belief; and, as a result, seven hundred Quakers were restored to liberty; naturally, there was much rejoicing among them.

There is little doubt but that the King would have dealt fairly with the Quakers, had he followed his own desires; but the Quakers were but one sect among many, and it was practically impossible for him to sit in judgment on them all. Again, he was surrounded by advisers who were enemies of Fox and his followers; hence a continual recital of complaints against the Quakers could not fail to have an effect. They were charged with actually plotting against the crown, as in the time of Cromwell, of being Jesuits in disguise, of planning wholesale insurrections and even murder. Nothing was too extreme to fasten upon these inoffensive people, who but rarely were heard in reply. Another reason for this, was the extraordinary confusion regarding any ecclesiastical policy. Episcopacy was still the unrepealed law, while the form of government which still held by virtue of Parliamentary ordinance was Presbyterian. Such a state of affairs with the active zealots of each and many sects at work, with George Fox protesting and preaching, could not fail to increase the confusion. Peace had been declared, the King was in power again on the throne of his ancestors, the civil policy of Charles the First was established; but religious chaos involved all England. The Royalists were clamoring for synods and a directory. The followers of Laud were in arms against the believers in Calvin, both bigots of an extreme type. Then there were the moderate Episcopalians of the Usher schism and the immoderate Presbyterians of the school of Baxter,

all contending, denouncing, preaching, a heterogenous commingling of impossibilities, which the Cavaliers laughed at and refused to take seriously.

There is nothing so strange in the world of 1913 as the fact that literally thousands of religions have been constructed on the philosophy of Christ—Confucious, Brahma, Hillel, and a few others. This being true, little wonder religion in many forms ran riot in 1660. The Royalists, divided as they were into many sects, still looked upon the Episcopal Church as the only form deserving recognition. Yet the new House of Commons, friendly to the House of Stuart, had a Presbyterian majority.

The Quakers were carrying on a propoganda of aggressive justice in every part of England, Scotland, Wales and the colonies. To the King, religion seemed a farce, and what had been an ecclesiastical policy during the reign of his father, seemed to be involved in inextricable confusion. Puritanism had run mad. They had made it a crime to read the book of Common Prayer. He who attacked the Calvinistic form was a public enemy. Clergymen had been literally thrown out of churches, and the latter robbed of their works of art by a fanatical rabble of iconoclasts. Even the Parliament declared that all the paintings in the Royal Collection which contained figures of the Virgin, should be destroyed. Men went mad, and art was crushed under foot. They had practically wiped out Christmas and by an act of Parliament made it a day of fasting. George Fox had denounced the use of the words January and Wednesday as homage to the idols, Janos and Woden. Such a condition of things, when the extreme seemed to have been reached by all sects, could have but one ending,

a complete revulsion of feeling on the part of the masses; and it came with the Restoration.

The Quakers were now looked upon as despicable fanatics, and the Puritans as canting Schismatics. The Puritans and Cavaliers agreed in the main issue of the Restoration, but they split on the rock of religion. The masses were weary of Puritans, Quakers and the stringent laws and rules; and they looked to the King, a good natured, blasé sensualist, who loved his ease too much to interest himself in the affairs of the nation; but desired power that he might enjoy himself. It was this characteristic that turned England against Presbyterianism and Quakerism. They interfered with the pleasures of the king. The Cavaliers won, and the Church of England came into power and with it, rolled on a tidal wave of excess, sensualism and enactments, undoing the reforms of the Cromwellian era.

Such, briefly, was the state of affairs during the early part of the reign of Charles the Second, a condition antagonistic to the safety of the Quakers; yet they increased in number and even became more and more systematically aggressive in their admonitions and rebukes at the decadence of morality.

The Quakers had used all their influence to secure the restoration of Charles II., and Samuel Shattuck, Edward Hubberthorn, George Fox, Edward Burrough and others called the attention of the King to Copeland and Holder, with ears cut off like hounds; whereupon the King assured Richard Hubberthorn "that their sufferings were at an end," and his order releasing seven hundred Quakers from jail was an evidence of his good faith.

About this time, despite the friendly acts of the King, the enemies of the Quakers grew bolder, and a general movement was made against them. George Fox was arrested at Swarthmore, at the house of Margaret Fell, and the latter and Anne Curtis journeyed to London to see the King. As a result, George Fox was given a hearing, the King displaying much interest in a long questioning which he gave him regarding the, to him, peculiar belief of the Quakers. During the hearing he reiterated his former friendly feeling by saying, "Well, of this you may be assured, that you shall none of you suffer for your opinions on religion, so long as you live peaceably, and you have the word of the King for it; and I have also given forth a declaration to the same purpose, that none shall wrong you or abuse you." George Fox was released after twenty weeks in jail on this order:

"By virtue of a warrant which this morning I have received from the right honorable Sir Edward Nicholas, knight, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries, for the releasing and setting at liberty of George Fox, late a prisoner in Lancaster jail, and from thence brought hither, by habeas corpus, and yesterday committed unto your custody; I do hereby require you accordingly to release, and set the said prisoner, George Fox, at liberty; for which this shall be your warrant and discharge. Given under my hand the 25th day of October, in the year of our Lord God, 1660."

THOMAS MALLET

Unquestionably the King was earnest and sincere in his intentions to the Quakers at this time, and he repeatedly reiterated to George Fox and to Richard Hubberthorn that

they should be protected in their religion; and that his famous statement from Breda was to be lived up to. Unfortunately for the Quakers, about this time, certain religious fanatics known as "Fifth Monarchy Men" broke out, claiming to have the right to seat, "King Jesus." The movement was confined to a few mad schismatics of the Millenarian party, and was snuffed out in less than a week; but it was used by the enemies of the Quakers, and the King was so influenced that he, doubtless, began to fear treason, and so was induced to issue proclamations preventing the meeting of "Sectaries" except in their own churches. All street or meetings in the open were prohibited. This was a severe blow to the Quakers who would not obey the proclamations, as they considered it a moral duty to administer rebukes wherever they were needed.

To the King, it was represented that the term Quaker was synonymous with treason, and that they were a menace to the nation. The Church of England in power, and all their enemies in the saddle, the Quakers saw the beginning of evil days. The enemies of the Quakers now raked the ancient laws for material to use against them, of which the following were best known:

"An Act passed in the reign of Elizabeth, imposed a fine of one shilling on every person over sixteen years of age, 'for each Sunday or Holiday,' that he absented himself from the parish church.

"By another Act, a fine of twenty pounds per month was imposed on everyone, over the age mentioned, who committed the same offence.

"By a third Act, persons convicted of similar wilful absence from church were made liable to have all their goods,

and two-thirds of their lands seized, and sold to pay the said fine of twenty pounds per month; the same to be repeated every year, so long as they may forbear to be present at the church.

“By another Act, passed in the same reign, persons so absenting themselves more than a month, without lawful cause; attending a conventicle, or persuading another to do so, ‘under pretence of religion,’ are made liable to be committed to prison, and be there kept until they conform. And if they do not so conform within three months—being so required by a Magistrate in open Assize—they abjure the realm. If they refuse to abjure the realm, or if they return without the Queen’s license, they shall be deemed felons, and be executed without benefit of clergy.

“The law made in the reign of James I., made it imperative on all to swear allegiance to the King, denying any right of the Pope to interfere in the kingdom, or any power in him to excommunicate or depose the King, &c.”

With copies of these ancient legends in the hands of every justice, judge or official, there is little wonder that the jails were again filled with Quakers. Affairs rapidly assumed a menacing form for the latter, though many of their old enemies, as Colonel Hacker, were hanged and quartered, as enemies of the King.

The colonies were having serious trouble with the Quakers. George Fox discussed Quakerism with the Jesuits, who were disposed to be friendly, and this was held up against the Friends, many claiming that the Quakers were Jesuits in disguise.*

*Footnote.—There is some reason to believe that the King’s friendship for the Quakers was influenced by the fact that he wished to aid the Catholics, and by according the Quakers certain privileges, would divert suspicion from his real object.

Despite these many drawbacks and frequent arrests, the Quaker movement advanced. The first Yearly Meeting in England was held at Skipton in 1660, and in 1661 the first Yearly Meeting was held in London. The year 1662 was ushered in with four thousand two hundred or more Quakers in jail, due to the aggressive campaign for personal and religious liberty; though in most instances they were jailed for non-essentials, saying, "thou" and "thee" and persisting in refusing to take the oath. The latter laid them open continually to the charge of treason, while their refusal to pay tithes was equivalent to a jail sentence.

Sir Henry Vane was beheaded at the Tower, Lambert sentenced to life imprisonment. The enemies of the very memory of Cromwell were having their revenge, and they so convinced the King that the Quakers were a menace, that he consented to an Act directed against them. The title of the Act was as follows:

"An Act for preventing mischiefs and dangers that may arise by certain persons called Quakers and others refusing to take lawful oaths."

This was notable as being the first serious governmental attack on the Quakers in England.

The Act was as follows:

"I. Whereas of late times, certain persons under the name of Quakers and other names of separation, have taken up and maintained sundry dangerous opinions and tenets, and among others, that the taking of an oath, in any case whatsoever, although before a lawful magistrate, is altogether unlawful, and contrary to the word of God; and the said persons do daily refuse to take an oath, though lawfully tendered, whereby it often happens that the truth is wholly

suppressed, and the administration of justice much obstructed: and whereas the said persons under a pretence of religious worship, do often assemble themselves in great numbers in several parts of this realm, to the great endangering of the public peace and safety, and to the terror of the people, by maintaining a secret and strict correspondence amongst themselves, and in the meantime separating and dividing themselves from the rest of his majesty's good and loyal subjects, and from the public congregations, and usual places of divine worship.

“II. For the redressing therefore, and better preventing the many mischiefs and dangers that do, and may arise by such dangerous tenets, and such unlawful assemblies, (2) Be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons assembled in Parliament, and by authority of the same, that if any person or persons, who maintain that the taking of an oath, in any case soever, (although before a lawful magistrate,) is altogether unlawful, and contrary to the word of God, from and after the four and twentieth day of March, in this present year of our Lord, one thousand six hundred and sixty-one, shall wilfully and obstinately refuse to take an oath, where, by the laws of the realm he or she is, or shall be bound to take the same, being lawfully and duly tendered, (3) or shall endeavor to persuade any other person, to whom any such oath shall in like manner be duly and lawfully tendered, to refuse and forbear the taking of the same, (4) or shall by printing, writing, or otherwise, go about to maintain and defend that the taking of an oath in any case whatsoever, is altogether unlawful; (5) and if the said persons, commonly

called Quakers, shall at any time after the said four and twentieth day of March, depart from the places of their several habitations, and assemble themselves to the number of five or more, of the age of sixteen years or upwards, at any one time, in any place under pretence of joining in a religious worship, not authorized by the laws of this realm, (6) that then in all and every such case, the party so offending, being lawfully convicted, by verdict of twelve men, or by his own confession, or by the notorious evidence of the fact, shall lose and forfeit to the king's majesty, his heirs and successors, for the first offence, such sum as shall be imposed upon him or her, not exceeding five pounds; (7) and if any person or persons, being once convicted of any such offence, shall again offend therein, and shall in form aforesaid be thereof lawfully convicted, shall for the second offence forfeit to the king, or sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, such sum as shall be imposed upon him or her, not exceeding ten pounds: (8) the said respective penalties to be levied by distress, and sale of the parties goods so convicted, by warrant of the parties before whom they shall be so convicted, rendering the overplus to the owners, if any be: (9) and for want of such distress, or non-payment of the said penalty within one week after such conviction, that then the parties so convicted shall for the first offence be committed to the common jail, or house of correction, for the space of three months; and for the second offence during six months, without bail or mainprize, there to be kept to hard labor; (10) which said moneys so to be levied, shall be paid to such person or persons, as shall be appointed by those before whom they shall be convicted, to be employed for the increase of the stock

of the house of correction, to which they shall be committed, and providing materials to set them on work: (11) and if any person, after he in form aforesaid, hath been twice convicted, of any of the said offenses shall offend the third time, and be thereof, in form aforesaid, lawfully convicted, that then every person so offending, and convicted, shall for his or her third offense, abjure the realm; or otherwise it shall, and may be lawful to, and for his majesty, his heirs and successors, to give order and to cause him, her, or them, to be transported in any ship or ships, to any of his majesty's plantations beyond the seas.

"III. And it is ordained and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every justice of Oyer and Terminer, justices of assize, and jail-delivery, and the justices of the peace, shall have full power and authority, in every of their open and general quarter sessions, to inquire, hear, and determine all and every the said offences, within the limits of their commission to them directed, and to make process for the execution of the same, as they may do against any person being indicted before them of trespass, or lawfully convicted thereof.

"IV. And be it also enacted, that it shall and may be lawful to, and for any justice of the peace, mayor, or other chief officer, of any corporation, within their several jurisdictions, to commit to the common jail, or bind over, with sufficient sureties to the quarter sessions, any person or persons offending in the premises, in order to his or their conviction aforesaid.

"V. Provided always, and be it hereby further enacted, that if any of the said persons shall, after such conviction as aforesaid, take such oath or oaths, for which he or she

stands committed, and also give security that he or she shall for the time to come forbear to meet in any such unlawful assembly as aforesaid, that then, and from thenceforth, such person and persons shall be discharged from all the penalties aforesaid; anything in this act to the contrary notwithstanding.

“VI. Provided always, and be it ordained and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and singular lords of the Parliament, for every third offence committed against the tenor of this act, shall be tried by their peers, and not otherwise.”

This was followed by numerous arrests and the outlook for Quakers was more than deplorable.

Yet Burrough, Fox and all the leaders made an aggressive fight for their liberties. Prisons in London and without were crowded with men and women. In Cheshire, sixty-eight Quakers were confined in a room so small that they could not sit down. Many died. In London five hundreds were confined, beaten and abused with every evidence of fury. The King protested that it was not his fault, but he did not stop it. All the great leaders among Quakers were now active, Edward Burrough, John Burnyeat, A. Jaffray, William Edmundson, William Dewsbury, Robert Lodge, Thomas Loe, Isaac Pennington, William Caton, William Ames and many more, appealing to the King and people, to the authorities in England, Ireland and Scotland, where their meetings were established. Appealing, praying, despite beatings, jail terms in filthy dungeons, attacks of every possible kind; yet in all the records of England, during the Restoration, there is not an instance of the Quakers having struck a blow or having comported them-

selves in any objectionable way. They, literally, turned the other cheek. If they were jailed, they prayed for the jailer and those in authority and worked for their salvation.

An Act of Parliament was secured by their enemies, forcing all who held office to take the sacrament according to the rites of the Episcopal church, its object being to shut out the Quakers and other Dissenters from office to better control the situation, and crush them. Troops were sent to the Bull and Mouth meeting in London, where they beat the devotees, hauled them out, inflicting terrible outrages upon them. This was repeated in other meetings, all given in detail in the contemporaneous books of the day.

Richard Hubberthorn and Edward Burrough, ministers, with twenty more, died in jail; Burrough was the Friend who had been assured protection by the King. It is true that Charles inquired after him and ordered his release, and that with the consent of the Privy Council he issued a proclamation renewing the assurances of fair treatment, of his Breda declaration, promising also that Parliament would take the matter under consideration. This was done, but to the amazement of the Quakers, Parliament refused to act, repudiating the Breda promise of the King. As the latter was dependent upon Parliament for funds to meet his enormous financial embarrassments, he was forced, whatever may have been his feelings of friendship, to acquiesce; though his effort to save the Quakers had its moral effect on the inhuman judges and other officers, who were hounding the helpless followers of Fox.

1662 was a memorable year in the history of Quakerism. Four thousand two hundred Quakers were

in jail, thousands assaulted, many killed, scores so injured from vile jails and brutal assaults that they died. Hundreds were robbed and ruined financially, all the result of the imposition of the Quaker Act, the Act of uniformity, enforcing the use of the prayer book and the ejection of non-conformist ministers.

The year 1663 saw the passage of the Conventicle Act forbidding all religious assemblages, except those allowed by the Church of England, and the arrest of George Fox and his incarceration in Lancaster Castle for a year and a half from which, had he not been a physical marvel, he never would have escaped, so horrible beyond description were the conditions here. From this place he was sent to Scarborough. Even here, the wit of Fox was exhibited. The place was so smoky that he could not see across the room, and when Sir Jordan Crosland, the Papist Governor, came groping in to inspect him and asked how he liked it, the wily Fox replied, that judging from the smoke and fumes it must be Sir John's "Purgatory." Fox was immured in this particular purgatory a year when he was released by an order from the King, through the intervention of many Friends, among whom was John Whitehead.

Margaret Fell, who later married George Fox, was arrested at about the same time for allowing Quakers to meet in her house, Swarthmore Hall. She plead her own case, but was sent to Lancaster Castle and confined in a room in which the rain fell. Here this refined, cultivated and educated English woman of the finest type, was imprisoned for four years. Her crime consisted in advocating the conditions which hold among men in 1913. Quakers were now banished on charges so puerile that the sea captains re-

ceiving them often landed them privately, refusing to be a party to the outrage.

About this time, George Bishop wrote to the King and Parliament, "meddle not with my people because of their conscience to me, and banish them not out of the nation because of their conscience; for if ye do, I will send my plagues upon you, and ye shall know that I am the Lord.

Written in obedience to the Lord, by his servant.

George Bishop."

It has been referred to previously, that the Quakers were impressed with the belief that those who persecuted them would be overtaken with retribution. There is repeated reference to this in contemporaneous works. The threat of George Bishop was recalled and created consternation not long afterwards, when after continued and shameful persecution of Friends, London was afflicted by the breaking out of the plague. It was, of course, purely circumstantial; but thousands, especially Puritans and Quakers, took it as an answer to the wrath of Bishop and the insolence and brutality with which his petition was received by the King. While the authorities were sending Quakers out of the country and shipping them to Jamaica and Barbadoes, thousands of citizens and officers were dropping dead in the streets. Eight thousand died in a single week, and before the end, one-seventh of the City of London had been wiped out of existence.

"Now," writes Sewell, the Dutch Historian of the Quakers, "the prediction of George Bishop was fulfilled; and the plagues of the Lord fell so heavily on the persecutors, that the eagerness to banish the Quakers and send them away began to abate." This in all sincerity, and lest the

reader smile at the credulity of these people, it is well to remember the extraordinary superstitions which prevail in all countries, sects and conditions of men and women, and society to-day.

The King, whose religion was of a hazy and nondescript character, with much elasticity and width of range, was not disturbed by the prophecies of Bishop, as when the ominous foreboding was repeated to him, while the hundreds were dropping dead hourly, he displayed his wit by asking one of his courtiers whether any of the Quakers themselves had died of the plague; and when he heard the affirmative reply, laughed lightly and shrugged his shoulders. This might have been considered a staggering blow, but the Quakers were always ready with Biblical quotations: one they used being the words of Solomon, "There is one event to the righteous and to the wicked;" and Job's "He destroyeth the perfect and the wicked." These were, metaphorically, hurled by Quakers at his Majesty, who, aside from being languidly clever, was one of the best friends the Quakers had among Royalty.

In these early days there was apparently no attempt on the part of George Fox to organize a society or a new sect or religion. In other words, his prime object was to rebuke the sinners of the world, not add to its militant religious bodies; but organization came as a natural sequence and meetings of various kinds were formed, now at Waltham and Shackelworth and many in London. All joined in raising funds to aid in the release of Friends, as there were in the fifth month of 1665, the year of the Great Plague, one hundred and twenty men and women in jail awaiting banishment as Quakers, while Newgate and

Bridewell were also crowded with Friends imprisoned on the first offense. The Quakers were crowded on plague-laden vessels, and scenes of horror enacted beyond belief, but none of these terrors discouraged them. They increased in numbers and in 1666, David Barclay, who was to become a distinguished Friend, joined forces with them. Another distinguished Quaker was Baron Swinton of Swinton, an ancestor of Walter Scott. David Barclay was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, and his brilliant son was a victim of many violent assaults.

Another singular prophecy was made in 1666. A Quaker, named Thomas Ibbit from Huntington, visited London, and as a "sign" to arouse the people from their sensual and unholy lives passed through the streets, prophesying a judgment of fire. Soldiers stopped him and asked what he meant. He replied, that he had had a vision of a fire and felt called upon to warn the people of their impending doom. Before Ibbit left London, or two days after his prophecy, London was overwhelmed by the greatest fire in all its history. Thirteen thousand two hundred dwelling houses were destroyed, eighty-nine churches and other new public buildings. The Quakers were great losers, which made the King smile again, but the terrible calamity for the time stopped the persecutions. George Fox was released from Scarborough Castle after three years imprisonment, the day before this holocaust. He was practically a physical wreck; but he began his ministrations and was in London while it was burning. He considered it a retribution, and says, "I saw the city dying according as the word of the Lord came to me several years before." The Bull and Mouth meeting was destroyed in this fire, and scores of

meeting places and houses of Friends were wiped out of existence.

It became evident to the Quakers who had been preaching in almost every town and city in England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, that they had the rudiments of an organization, which but needed merging to make a homogenous unit. As a result of this, came the first attempt to establish a uniform system of church government. This began in London. George Fox writes in his Journal, "Then was I moved of the Lord to recommend the setting up of five monthly meetings of men and women in the City of London, besides the women's meeting and the quarterly meetings, to take care of God's glory, and to admonish or exhort such as walked disorderly and carelessly, and not according to truth. For whereas Friends had only Quarterly Meetings, now Truth was spread and Friends grown more numerous, I was moved to recommend the sitting of Monthly Meetings throughout the nation. And the Lord opened to me what I must do, and how the men's and women's Monthly and Quarterly meetings should be ordered and established in this and other nations; and that I should write to those where I came not, to do the same."

Here began the system which, undoubtedly, resulted in the extraordinary church body or religious sect known to themselves as the Society of Friends, which, judged rigidly on its merits as a method or organized plan to eliminate evil, is without parallel in the world.

The reader will understand my meaning, when I state that I examined some years ago the private records of a large meeting of Quakers from 1670 to 1760 or thereabouts. It contained the record of every admonishment to

members, of every crime committed by Quakers during that time known to the meeting or any of its many hundred members. During this period numbers of Friends were disowned for marrying outside of the meeting; but as for the crimes of to-day, they were not to be found. In all that period, there were but three names whose owners had been considered disgraced; one was for failing in business and involving others; the other two were for over-indulgence in spirituous liquors. Such a record cannot be found in any other religious sect in the world, and it was not the exception in all Friends communities in any land and America then, nor is it to-day.

The general meetings of Friends had long been held and long been referred to. One was at Swanington in 1654, another at Edge Hill, 1656, Balby 1658. George Fox refers to the Skipton meeting in 1660 as follows: "To this Meeting came many Friends out of most parts of the nation; for it was about business relating to the church, both in this nation and beyond the seas. Several years before, when I was in the north, I was moved to recommend to Friends the setting up of this Meeting for that service; for many Friends suffered in divers parts of the nation, their goods were taken from them contrary to law, and they understood not how to help themselves, or where to seek redress. But after this Meeting was set up, several Friends who had been Magistrates, and others who understood something of the law, came hither, and were able to inform Friends, and to assist them in gathering up the sufferings, that they might be laid before the Justices, Judges, or Parliament. This meeting had stood several years, and divers Justices and Captains had come to break

it up; but when they understood the business the Friends met about, and saw Friends' books, and accounts of collections for the relief of the poor, how we took care one county to help another, and to help our Friends beyond the sea, and provide for our poor that none of them should be chargeable to their parishes, &c., the Justices and officers confessed that we did their work, and would pass away peaceably and lovingly, 'commending Friends' practice.' Sometimes there would come two hundred poor of other people, and wait till the meeting was done, for all the country knew we met about the poor, and after the meeting, Friends would send to the bakers for bread, and give every one of those poor people a loaf, how many soever there were of them; for we were taught 'to do good unto all, though especially to the household of faith.' "

Originally the Quarterly Meeting was designed to attend to marriages, births, the children of the Society, the raising of funds for widows, or those imprisoned, or any business requiring immediate attention, generally relegated to-day to the monthly meeting.

In 1668, George Fox writes, "The Men's Monthly Meetings were settled throughout the nation. I wrote also on to Ireland, Scotland, Holland, Barbadoes and several parts of America, advising Friends to settle their men's monthly meetings in these countries, for they had their Quarterly Meetings before." There was another supervisory meeting called the "Two Weeks Meeting" at which various minor matters were arranged, as discipline and oversight of the various London meetings. Some of these meetings were composed of women, who visited the sick in jail, looked after the widows and orphans.

The "Yearly Meeting" had not yet appeared, though its equivalent, "The General Meeting of Ministers" met in London in 1668 and again in 1672. This meeting gave advice to the smaller ones and to members, and one of its epistles reads, "That for the better ordering, managing and regulating the public affairs of Friends, relating to the truth and service thereof, there be a general meeting of Friends held at London once a year, in the week called Whitsun-week; to consist of six Friends for the city of London, three for the City of Bristol, two of the Town of Colchester, and one or two from each of the counties of England and Wales." This was the first Yearly Meeting, tho it was discontinued until "Friends in God's wisdom shall see a further reason."

The General Meetings were continued, and George Fox, in referring to them said in 1674: "Let your General Assemblies of the Ministers, examine as it was at the first, whether all the ministers that go forth into the counties, do walk as becomes the gospel; for that you know was one end of that meeting, to prevent and take away scandal, and to examine if all who preach Christ Jesus, do keep to his government, and in the order of the gospel, and to exhort them that do not."

We next hear of the "Yearly Meeting" in 1677, when they sent an invitation to the Quarterly to send representatives to be held at the same period the following year in London, the object being, "For the more general service of truth and the body of Friends, in all those things wherein we may be capable to serve one another in love." At the termination of this meeting, the call to meet again the following year was repeated; and from this time, the Yearly

Meeting has always been held among Friends all over the world, and has been the governing power, exercising full supervisory, moral and legislative control over all other meetings and doings in the Society. The following is from the preamble: "The intent and design of our annual assemblies, in their first constitution, was for a great and weighty oversight and Christian care of the affairs of the churches, pertaining to our holy profession and Christian communion; that good order, true love, unity and concord may be faithfully followed and maintained among us." For many years, the Yearly Meeting was composed of appointed delegates or representatives. Then a change was made and the meeting was composed of members of the General and Quarterly meetings in Great Britain, representatives being also sent to it from the semi-annual meetings in Ireland. As many cases of discipline came up at the Quarterly and Monthly meetings, members could appeal to the Yearly Meetings, if they so desired, the latter being supreme and decisive, a court of last appeal.

At the time, when the Friends were being persecuted, a special committee was formed to investigate the cases of Friends who were thrown into jail and to intercede for them. This committee was always in session and met in London, really representing the yearly meeting between the dates of its sessions. The meetings of this committee became known in 1677 as "The Meeting for Sufferings."

In this way, slowly and as the result of demand, the framework of the Society of Friends rose and assumed form, and later rules and regulations governing personal behavior and action were made. Naturally, the ideas of George Fox were highly esteemed. In 1668, he issued a paper of sug-

gestions and instructions, which can be found in the minutes of many old meetings. It was particularly interesting, as a part of the peculiar and efficient machinery of the new Society devised to spiritualize its members and eliminate evil from their midst. It was this constant watchfulness that made the Friends a remarkable people for their consistency and faith in any time. It was practically a system of natural elimination. If a member could not live according to the ethics of the Society, he or she was labored with. Everything was done that could be done by friends and members of special committees, and then if there was no hope, as a last regrettable resort, the offending member was cut off or disowned. In the early days, and even in the nineteenth century, this was strictly carried out, and hundreds of Friends were disowned for such failures as marrying out of the Society or digressions in dress and other non-essentials.

The essence of the Fox document, defining the duties of Friends and their obligations, is as follows:

“Friends, Fellowship must be in the Spirit, and all Friends must know one another in the Spirit and Power of God.

“First:—In all the meetings of the country, two or three being gathered from them to go to the General Meetings, for to give notice one to another, if there be any that walk not in the truth, and have been convinced and gone from truth, and so dishonor God, that some may be ordered from the meeting to go and exhort such, and bring to the next General Meeting what they say.

“Secondly:—If any that profess the truth, follow pleasures, drunkenness, gamings or are not faithful in their call-

ings and dealings, nor honest nor just, but run into debt, and so bring a scandal upon the truth, Friends may give notice to the General Meeting (if there be any such), and some may be ordered to go and exhort them, and bring in their answer next General Meeting.

“Thirdly:—And if any go disorderly together in marriage, contrary to practice of the holy men of God, and assemblies of the righteous in all ages; who declared it in the assemblies of the righteous, when they took one another; (all things being clear,) and they both being free from any other, and when they do go together, and take one another, let there not be less than a dozen Friends and relations present (according to your usual order) having first acquainted the men’s meeting, and they have clearness and unity with them; and that it may be recorded in a book according to the word and commandment of the Lord; and if any walk contrary to the truth herein, let some be ordered to speak to them and give notice thereof to the next General Meeting.

“Sixthly:—And all such as marry by the Priests of Baal, who are the rough hands of Esau, and fists of wickedness and bloody hands, and who have had their hands in the blood of our brethren, and are the cause of all the banishment of our brethren, and have spoiled so many of their goods, casting into prison, and keep many hundreds at this day—such as go to them for wives or husbands, must come to judgment, and condemnation of that spirit that led them to Baal, and of Baal’s priests also; or else Friends that keep their habitations must write against them and Baal both; for from Genesis to the Revelations you never read of any priest that married people; but it is God’s ordinance,

and whom God joins together let no man put asunder; and they took one another in the assemblies of the righteous when all things were clear. Therefore, let all these things be inquired into and brought to the General Meeting, and from thence some ordered to go to them and to return what they say at your next meeting. And all these, before they or any of them be left as heathens or written against, let them be three or four times gone to; that they may have Gospel order, so that if it be possible they may come to that which did convince them, to condemn their unrighteous doings that so you may not leave a hoof in Egypt.

“Eighthly:—And in all your meetings let notice be given to the General Meetings of all the poor; and when you have heard that there are many more poor belong to one meeting than to another and that meeting thereby burdened and oppressed, let the rest of the meetings assist and help them; so that you may ease one another, and help to bear one another’s burdens, and so fulfill the law of Christ, and so see that nothing be lacking, according to the apostle’s words. Mark, nothing lacking, then all is well. . . . So there is not to be a beggar now amongst the Christians, according to the law of Jesus, as there was not to be any amongst the Jews, according to the law of God.

“Tenthly:—And that notice be taken of all evil speakers, back-biters, slanderers and foolish talkers and idle jesters; for all these things corrupt good manners, and are not according to the saints and holy ones; whose words are seasoned with salt, ministering grace to the hearers.

“Eleventhly:—And all such who are tale carriers and railers, whose work is to sow dissension, are to be reproved and admonished; for such do not bring people into the unity

of the Spirit, but by such doings come to lose their own conditions.

“Twelfthly:—And all such as go up and down to cheat by borrowing and getting money of Friends in by-places (and have cheated several).

“Thirteenthly:—And if there happen any differences between Friend and Friend of any matters, and if it cannot be ended before the General Meeting, let half a dozen Friends from the General Meeting be ordered to put a steady end thereto; that justice may be speedily done, that no difference may rest or remain amongst any: (and let your General Meeting be once in every quarter of a year, and to be appointed at such places as may be most convenient for the most of Friends to meet in). So that the house may be cleansed of all that is contrary to purity, virtue, life, light, and spirit and power of God. So that Friends may not be one another’s sorrow and trouble, but one another’s joy and crown in the Lord.

“Fourteenthly:—And all Friends see that your children be trained up in the fear of the Lord; in soberness, and holiness, and righteousness, temperance and meekness, and gentleness, lowliness and modesty in their apparel and carriage; and so to exhort your children and families in the truth; that the Lord may be glorified in all your families; and teach your children when they are young, then will they remember it when they are old, according to Solomon. So that your children may be a blessing to you and not a curse.

“Sixteenthly:—And also that Friends do buy necessary books for the registering of births, marriages, and burials, as the holy men of God did of old; as you may read through the Scriptures; that every one may be ready to give a testi-

mony and certificate thereof, if need require, or any be called thereunto.

“Seventeenthly:—And also that the sufferings of Friends (of all kinds of sufferings) in all the counties be gathered up and put together, and sent to the General Meeting, and so sent to London, to Ellis Hookes; that nothing of the memorial of the blood and cruel sufferings of your brethren be lost, which shall stand as a testimony against the murdering spirit of this world, and be to the praise of the everlasting power of the Lord in the ages to come; who supported and upheld them in such hardships and cruelties; who is God over all, blessed forever. Amen.

“Eighteenthly:—And let inquiry be made concerning all such as do pay tithes, which makes void the testimony and sufferings of our brethren who have suffered, many of them to death; by which many widows and fatherless have been made, and which is contrary to the doctrine of the apostles and the doctrine of the martyrs, and contrary to the doctrine of the righteous in this present age; all such are to be inquired into, and to be exhorted.

“Dear Friends be faithful in the service of God, and mind the Lord’s business, and be diligent, and bring the power of the Lord over all those that have gainsaid it; and all you that be faithful go to visit them all that have been convinced, from house to house, that if it be possible you may not leave a hoof in Egypt; and so every one go seek the lost sheep and bring him home on your backs to the fold, and there will be more joy of that one sheep than the ninety-nine in the fold.

“And my dear friends live in the wisdom of God, that which is gentle and pure, from above, and easy to be en-

treated, and bear one another's infirmities and weaknesses, and so fulfill the law of Christ; and if any weakness should appear in any of your meetings, not for any to lay it open and tell it abroad; that is not wisdom that doth so, for love covers a multitude of sins, and love preserves and edifies the body, and they that dwell in love dwell in God, for He is love, and love is not provoked. And, therefore, keep the law of love, which keeps down that which is provoked, for that which is provoked hath words which are for condemnation, therefore let the law of love be amongst you, it will keep down that which is provoked and its words, and so the body edifies itself in love.

"Copies of this to be sent all abroad amongst Friends in their men's meetings. (1668.) G. F."

The treatment of Friends or Quakers in Ireland was as rigorous as in England, as the generals of the Fox army of martyrs were preaching in its green fields, writing criticism. Among them were John Burnyeat and Robert Lodge, who were imprisoned; also Thomase Loe, an eminent minister, and William Edmundson; the latter being released on one occasion by the Earl of Mountrath, who stood by him against the Justice. Later he was arrested again, though he accomplished an important work in following the instructions of George Fox and establishing meetings throughout Ireland. These were called "Provincial Meetings" in Ireland, and were held every six weeks.

In 1669, George Fox travelled through Ireland and devoted himself to the work of organization. Among others, he founded a general semi-annual meeting, to meet in Dublin, with power to send delegates to London meetings. George Fox and William Edmundson now travelled over

Ireland together, and it was the direct result of their preaching that attracted the attention of William Penn to the Quakers, as he joined them in Ireland.



THE ARMOR PAINTING OF WILLIAM PENN



WILLIAM PENN AS A YOUNG MAN

CHAPTER VIII.

WILLIAM PENN IN ENGLAND

1667-1682.

The political history of England during the reign of Charles the Second is of profound interest. It was an era of gross profligacy. From the period of morality under Cromwell, the politicians appeared to pass to the antipodes, all of which forced the Quakers into greater activities, as they considered it their duty to rebuke dissolute practices.

Clarendon did what he could to restrain the King, but he accumulated enemies, who at last overwhelmed him. The government became extremely unpopular. France loomed up as an enemy and only the cleverness of Sir William Temple, who accomplished the triple alliance between England, Sweden and Holland, thus checking the ambitions of France, saved the day and restored good feeling in England.

At this time, two notable figures came into the fold of the Quakers: William Penn, a son of Sir Admiral William Penn, and Robert Barclay of Uray.

William Penn was born near the Tower of London in 1644, the year before Laud was beheaded; in rapid succession in his boyhood, came the execution of Charles the First, the Protectorate under Cromwell, and the Restoration of Charles the Second. His father was one of the famous admirals in the British service, Sir Admiral William Penn, a man of aristocratic ambitions and the friend of King Charles. He had served under Charles the First

and was Vice-Admiral of the Straits at twenty-nine. Cromwell gave him his estates in Ireland to recoup him for various losses; yet the Protector permitted spies and informers to undermine Admiral Penn in his estimation; and on his return from the West Indies with his fleet he was arrested and thrown into prison, later releasing him.

Pepys, in his extraordinary diary, repeatedly refers to Penn, and the following from a sharp-tongued gossip of the day, a Mrs Turner, a cousin of Pepys, illustrates that the venom of the envious gossip was "like unto a serpent's tooth," even in the seventeenth century: "Then we fell to talk of Sir. W. Pen, and his family and rise. She (Mrs. Turner) says that he was a pityfull (fellow) when she first knew them; that his lady was one of the sourest, dirty women, that ever she saw; that they took two chambers, one over another, for themselves and child, in Tower Hill; that for many years together they eat more meals at her house than at their own; did call brothers and sisters the husbands and wives; that her husband was godfather to one, and she godmother to another, this Margaret, of their children, by the same token that she was fain to write with her own hand a letter to Captain Twiddy, to stand for a godfather for her; that she brought my Lady who was then a dirty slattern, with her stockings hanging about her heels, so that afterwards the people of the whole Hill did say that Mrs. Turner had made Mrs. Pen a gentlewoman, first to the knowledge of my Lady Vane, Sir Henry's lady, and him to the knowledge of most of the great people that then he sought; and that his rise hath been from his giving of large bribes, wherein, and she agrees with my opinion and knowledge before therein, he is very profuse."

Upon his release from prison, Sir William returned to his Irish estate near Cork, and lived the life of a country gentleman.

In wandering in 1910 through the beautiful church St. Mary Redcliffe of Bristol, which Queen Elizabeth in 1574 called the "fairest, goodliest, and most famous parish church in England," where so many Friends have suffered, I came upon the armor of Admiral Penn, hung upon the ancient walls, that were erected in 1086, mention of the old pile being found in the Charter of Henry II., about 1158. On the interior wall of the tower is a large monumental tablet to Sir William, who was a native of Bristol, and who became a Quaker. He is buried in the church. Over the tablet hangs the armor and the parts of some ancient flags which it is supposed were captured from the Dutch fleet. The inscription on the tablet is as follows:

To ye Just Memory of Sr Will Penn Kt and Sometimes
Generall, borne at Bristol In 1621, sone of Captain Giles
Penn severall years Consul for ye English in ye Mediter-
ranean of ye Penns of Penns Lodge in the County of
Wilts & those Penns of Penn in ye C of Bucks & by
his Mother from ye Gilberts in ye County of Somerset.

Originally from Yorkshire. Adicted from his
youth to Maritime affaires. He was made Captain at
ye years of 21; Rear-Admiral of Ireland at 23; Vice-
Admiral of Ireland at 25; Admirall to ye Streights
at 29; Vice-Admiral of England at 31; & Generall
in ye first Dutch Warres at 32; whence retiring
in Ano 1655; He was Chosen a Parliment man for ye
Town of Weymouth 1660; made Commissioner of
ye Admiralty, & Navy Governor of ye Towne & forts of

King-sail, Vice-Admirall of Munster & a member of that Provinciaall Counsell & in Anno 1664 Was Chosen Great Captain-Commander under his Royal Highnesse; in Ye Signall and Most Evidently successfull fight against ye Dutch fleet.

Thus He Took Leave of the Sea, His old element, But Continued still His other Employs Till 1669 at what Time, Through Bodely Infirmitys (Contracted by ye Care and fatigue of Publique Affairs) He Withdrew Prepared & Made for His End: & with a Gentle & Even Gale in much Peace Arrived and Ancord In his Last and Best Port, at Wanstead in ye County of Essex ye 16 Sept: 1670, being then but 49 & 4 Months old.

“To whose Name and Merit, His Surviving Lady hath Erected this Remembrance.”

His son was being prepared for Oxford by a tutor, when Thomas Loe, a Quaker minister, went to the vicinity and aroused profound interest, making many converts. Sir William, with the inbred courtesy of an English gentleman whose motto is always fair play, invited the preacher to his house where a meeting was held. Young Penn, later the founder of Pennsylvania, was but eleven years old, but the meeting and the preacher's words made a lasting impression on him. Later he entered Oxford, and there is reason to believe that in these days he had a strong predilection for religion. The same Thomas Loe preached at Oxford while Penn was a student. He and some friends heard him and were so convinced of the correctness of his deductions that Young Penn became a convert and was expelled from the University for refusing to wear the cap and gown, and for other breaches of University law and order. Admiral Penn, was highly

enraged at this, denouncing his son in unmeasured terms, and cut to the quick by what he considered an exhibition of the commonplace in his well-bred heir, for whom he had intended a totally different career. Believing that absence would break up the interest in Quakers he sent his son abroad where he remained until the war with the Dutch, when his father recalled him and presented him at Court.

Everything pointed to a life consistent with the follies of the day. Young Penn was a man of fashion, the son of a knight, who was the intimate friend of the Duke of York a possible king. Pepys refers to him as follows: "Mr. Penn, Sir William's son, is come back from France, and come to visit my wife, a most modish person grown, she says, a fine gentleman."

Admiral Penn now went to sea in command of the fleet and young Penn accompanied him as a member of the staff. Later he was ordered home with dispatches to the King, and sent to Ireland with letters to the Duke of Ormond. Every effort was made by Sir William to keep his son from the Quakers; but the latter again met Thomas Loe and all the latent interest in the Quakers was revived. Later young Penn was arrested at a Quaker meeting in Cork. The Earl of Ossory procured his release, but notified the Admiral that his son had turned Quaker. Sir William ordered him home. Young Penn obeyed the summons, but was accompanied by Josiah Cole, a kinsman of Christopher Holder. The two presented their case warmly, but the Admiral would not hear to his son becoming a Quaker and was greatly enraged. He even attempted to disown him, but his mother interceded, a truce was declared, and the young man was allowed to remain at home.

Later he met George Fox and during a conversation, he asked if it was right for him to wear a sword, a fashion he still held to. Fox replied, "Wear it as long as thou canst." A short time after, they met again and Fox observing that the sword was gone, asked, "Where is thy sword?" Penn replied, "I took thy advice, I wore it as long as I could."

William Penn from now on became a strong virile figure in the Society, and at the age of twenty-four he was considered one of its ablest preachers. Having been finely educated, a French and Italian scholar, a man of the highest culture, he soon began to write on the subject of "Quakerism," and his list of books and pamphlets is a very long one. While a prisoner in the Tower of London, 1668, he wrote, "No Cross, No Crown," and with Barclay, author of the "Apology," etc., and Christopher Holder, author of various works and the first "Declaration of Faith of Quakers," he ranks as one of the distinguished literary lights of the Early Quakers.

Now came the re-enactment of the Conventicle, October, 1670, by which no religious ceremony was allowed which differed from that of the Church of England, an act which was designed to force England backward into the dark ages, and to bring untold suffering upon the Quakers, who could not obey it.

They ignored it everywhere, and among the first to be arrested after its passage, were William Penn and William Meade; the charge being a strange one for men who, if anything, were protagonists of the principle of eternal, uncompromising peace. The following is an extract from the charge: "With force and arms unlawfully and tumultuously

assemble and congregate themselves together to the disturbance of the peace of the said Lord and King, to the great terror and disturbance of many of his liege people and subjects," etc. The jury was forced to bring in a verdict against Penn and Meade, and they were sent to Newgate from which Penn was released by his father, who in the end became reconciled to him, paying the fine.

Admiral Penn died after a distinguished career. Soon after, the son was again thrown into Newgate, where he found Edward Gove. William Penn was released in six months, and again sailed for Holland and Germany. On his return he married Gulielma Maria Springett, daughter of Sir William Springett, who was also the choice of Thomas Ellwood, one of the finest characters in all Quaker history. They lived at Rickmansworth, near Chalfont, the home of Sir Isaac Pennington. Penn again went to Holland where he held meetings in the home of Princess Elizabeth of the Palatinate, daughter of the King of Bohemia and granddaughter of James I. She became deeply interested in the Quakers and their work, as the following letter to William Penn indicates:

"Herford, May 2, 1677.

"This, friend, will tell you that both your letters were very acceptable, together with your wishes for my obtaining those virtues which may make me a worthy follower of our great King and Saviour, Jesus Christ. What I have done for his true disciples is not so much as a cup of cold water; it affords them no refreshment; neither did I expect any fruit of my letter to the duchess of L. as I have expressed at the same time unto B. F. But since R. B. desired I should write it, I could not refuse him, nor omit to

do anything that was judged conducing to his liberty, though it should expose me to the derision of the world. But this a mere moral man can reach at; the true inward graces are yet wanting in

“Your affectionate friend,

“Elizabeth.”

And also a letter to George Fox:

“Dear Friend,

“I cannot but have a tender love to those that love the Lord Jesus Christ, and to whom it is given not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for him: therefore your letter, and your friend’s visit, have been both very welcome to me. I shall follow their and your counsel, as far as God will afford me light and unction; remaining still,

“Your loving friend,

“Elizabeth.

“Herford. the 30th of August, 1677.”

In 1671, Margaret Fell, now the wife of George Fox, was in jail, but he procured her release by an appeal to the King and soon after sailed for America, returning the following summer or in 1673. Many Friends went to Bristol to meet him, among them William Penn, John Rouse, his wife’s son-in-law, Thomas Lower, and many more. From here, he went to London and was in a short time again in jail at Worcester, where he nearly died before his friends procured his release. Up to this time over two hundred Quakers had died in the jails of England or since the restoration of Charles the Second, yet the Society was constantly increasing in numbers and enlarging its sphere of influence. This apparently enraged other non-conformists who joined in the fray as enemies of the defenceless Quakers who were

whipped, beaten, struck down in the streets, thrust into vile dungeons, their women insulted, brutally attacked, their statements misquoted; in fact, every possible insult and degradation was thrust upon them. Yet they remained passive, protesting in prayerful rebuke, which often incensed their enemies more than would a muscular retaliation.

There is nothing more remarkable in the history of the world, than the gradual winning of this Quaker battle by passive resistance. The Quakers merely gripped their Faith and pressed on, eternally on. Released from jail, they immediately began to preach or visit meetings, refused to take an oath, and were thrown into jail again; until the authorities were often at their wits end and in desperation released them.

George Fox had earned a reputation not at all compatible with his gentle nature. He was supposed to possess miraculous powers, and many ignorant Royalists believed that he had the "evil eye;" so many of his prophetic sayings came true that they were afraid of him. This superstition was seized upon by the non-conformist enemies and enlarged upon to extraordinary extremes. In the meantime, Fox was devising schools for the children of Friends. One for girls was established at Shacklewall; another boarding school for boys at Waltham. As years went on, these were increased in England and in the colonies, and by the end of the seventeenth century there were over twenty seminaries for both sexes, boarding and day schools, with learned Friends at their head.

Politically this was the period of the famous Cabal, the King's cabinet being composed of five men the initial letters of whose names spelled Cabal. They were Clifford,

Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley and Lauderdale. The three latter were famous for their infamy in a moral sense, at a time when immorality was epidemic among politicians and courtiers. It can be readily appreciated, that the Quakers, who viewed such lives with horror, could expect little from a King with advisers of this type, who laughed at the Quakers and considered them in the light of a public nuisance, to be gotten rid of easily, if possible, but to be crushed.

In following the extraordinary struggle of the Quakers for liberty of conscience in the seventeenth century, the details of which would, if properly elaborated, fill twenty volumes of the size of this, the reader is advised to read the intimate history of England, especially under Charles the Second, or the Restoration, to more fully appreciate the strength, vitality and enthusiasm of the Quaker cause in the face of death, persecution and financial ruin. Men like Buckingham, who had exhausted all the sensual pleasures, now were toying with a game of chess, whose pawns were living kings, emperors, queens and heirs apparent. We have the spectacle of political intrigue that amazes the world to-day, of Louis of France manipulating the cords attached to the British puppets, and making them move according to his dictation and sovereign will. It was a marvelous illustration of what a great people will endure at the hands of a sovereign, a figure head, which they have been taught for centuries to almost worship as a pseudo God.

One day, we have the spectacle of George Fox, Christopher Holder and Thomas Ellwood appealing to the King to stand for high morality and liberty of conscience. The next we see Charles receiving the woman spy sent by Louis

of France, Louisa of Querouaille, who is promptly permitted to triumph over all her rivals, to quote Macauley, and is created Duchess of Portsmouth, to the eternal disgrace of the sovereign who did not hesitate to prostitute the highest gift in his power to this liaison laid and planned by France.

To make matters more difficult for the Quakers, the King had consummated the Treaty of Dover, in which he promised to make public profession of Roman Catholicism, and, as a result, terrible persecution of Catholics in England followed.

English history was a romance at this time with its remarkable men, as Sir George Jeffries, the Earl of Clarendon, the Duke of York, Lord Halifax, the Earl of Southampton, the Earl of Shaftsbury, the Duke of Ormond, Lawrence Hyde, Sidney Godolphin, Viscount Stafford and Essex, Henry, Earl of Peterborough, Lord Guilford, the Earl of Rochester and many more, with their marvelous systems of intrigue, their plots and counter-plots, their religions and vices. It reads like a miracle to-day, and we can but marvel that Quakerism, a system of absolute piety of the most uncompromising type and character, could for a moment hold its ground in a land given over so completely to sensuality, intrigue and unbridled debauchery.

The conditions were absolutely impossible for the continuance and perpetuity of any true religion which could not be welded into a great political juggernaut, as Catholicism or Episcopalianism was at the time, each striving for supremacy in a warfare at once disgraceful and terrible. The awful cry of no popery was heard amid the slaughter of the innocents; or again, acts were passed forbidding all forms which did not accord to the Episcopal church. It

was pre-eminently not the golden era of the non-conformists; yet as the skies grew red and lowering, George Fox redoubled his efforts, sent out more ministers, flooded England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland with them, crossed and re-crossed England; now preaching to the common people, again directing an appeal to the King, rebuking the Pope for the acts of Catholicism, writing countless protests to judges, justices, generals of the army, commanders of the fleet, governors of prisons. Certainly this man with all the mistakes he may have made, due to over enthusiasm, presented a noble figure, illumining an age of debauchery with the splendors of pure goodness, purity and a Christ-like example.

It has been the custom in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries for sensational writers and preachers to picture in the public imagination the return of Christ, and to ask what Christ would do. If the reader will carefully study the Journal of George Fox, he or she will see that this plain man was attempting to solve this question of the ages. He was a man of the people, of moderate means, but he possessed as pure and sweet a heart and soul as man ever had, and he carried into England in the seventeenth century the best imitation of Christ's life the world has ever seen. He made no pretense of Christ-like attributes. He knew himself to be an humble seeker after truth and religious liberty; but he endeavored earnestly to live the simple life that Christ lived, which, stripped of all ambiguity, is the doctrine of the Quaker. When persecuted the most, when in deepest despair, George Fox devised methods to educate the young and to provide them with trades. The latter is referred to in the following:

“My dear Friends,

“Let every Quarterly Meeting make inquiry through all the Monthly and other meetings, to know all friends that are widows, or others, that have children fit to put out to apprenticeships; so that once a quarter you may set forth an apprentice from your quarterly meeting; so you may set forth four in a year, in each county, or more, if there be occasion. This apprentice, when out of his time, may help his father or mother, and support the family that is decayed; and, in so doing, all may come to live comfortably. This being done in your quarterly meetings, ye will have knowledge through the county, in the monthly and particular meetings, of masters fit for them; and of such trades as their parents or you desire, or the children are most inclinable to. Thus being placed out to Friends, they may be trained up in truth; and by this means in the wisdom of God, you may preserve Friends’ children in the truth, and enable them to be a strength and help to their families, and nursers and preservers of their relations in their ancient days.

“Thus also, things being ordered in the wisdom of God, you will take off a continual maintenance, and free yourselves from such cumber. For in the country, ye know, ye may set forth an apprentice for a little to several trades, as bricklayers, masons, carpenters, wheelrights, ploughrights, tailors, tanners, curriers, blacksmiths, shoemakers, nailers, butchers, weavers of linen and woolen, stuffs and serves, etc. And you may do well to have a stock in your quarterly meetings for that purpose. All that is given by any friends at their decease, except it be given to some particular use, person, or meeting, may be brought to the public stock for that purpose. This will be a way for the preserving of many

that are poor among you; and it will be a way of making up poor families. In several counties it is practised already. Some quarterly meetings set forth two apprentices; and sometimes the children of others that are laid on the parish. You may bind them for fewer or more years, according to their capacities. In all things the wisdom of God will teach you; by which ye may help the children of poor friends, that they may come to support their families, and preserve them in the fear of God. So no more, but my love in the everlasting Seed, by which ye will have wisdom to order all things to the glory of God.

G. F."

"London, the first of the 11th month, 1669."

During these years, William Penn's writings aroused the flame ever and anon against the Quakers. Pepys thus refers to one of his early books: "Here we met with Mr. Batelier and his sister, and so they home with us in two coaches, and there at my house staid and supped, and this night my book-seller Shrewsbury comes, and brings my books of Martyrs, and I did pay him for them, and did this night make the young women before supper to open all the volumes for me. Read a ridiculous, nonsensical book set out by Will Pen, for the Quakers; but so full of nothing but nonsense, that I was ashamed to read in it."

One of his books, procured his imprisonment in the Tower. The prelates were much offended, claiming that he was guilty of treason, and would have been well pleased to have seen him go to the block. Penn appealed to Lord Arlington, Secretary of State, and despite an atrocious attempt to entangle him, was released after eight months in the Tower without trial or conviction, the Bishops of London assuring

him that he must recant or die in the Tower, suggestive that freedom of conscience was still a misnomer.

In 1681 George Fox and his wife were sued for tithes which they had not paid for years. During the trial it came out that in the marriage settlement of Margaret Fell and George Fox, the latter had agreed in writing not to interfere with her personal estate in any way, a condition so unique that Sewell says the judges wondered at it, and in the act we see one of the first recognitions of the rights of women to their own property.

About this time William Penn consummated his great plan of a Quaker colony in America. The King owed Admiral Penn a large sum of money within all probability, a friendly feeling, and it may be assumed a desire to get rid of Quakers at any cost, and due to the influence of James, Duke of York, a friend of his father, the King gave a patent to a vast tract in America to Penn, and his heirs in *perpetuam*, which became the great state of Pennsylvania, thus obliterating the personal debt of \$80,000.

In this year, 1682, Christopher Holder, who was traveling through England preaching, was arrested for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, carried before Justice Hunt and sent to jail. Two days later he was again presented with the opportunity to take the oath of the Charter Sessions, but again refused, stating that he would "affirm" but would not take the oath, as it was against his religious belief. After a time he was released, but while preaching at Bellipool, one Giles Ball of Somersetshire, keeper of the Ilchester jail, entered and ordered him to desist, and upon his refusal arrested him and threw him into jail, from which he was removed to Launceston Castle in Cornwall,

where, apparently, he was kept a year. In all, he spent over four years of his life in England in various jails, which with the suffering he had endured in America, made serious inroads upon his health.

An interesting character during the time of Fox and Penn was Sir John Rodes of Barlbrough, a young friend and protégé of William Penn. One of Penn's letters to Sir John* gives an excellent idea of his literary taste, and his views of how a young man should divide up his time:

WILLIAM PENN TO SIR. JOHN RODES

the $\frac{m}{8}$ 1693.

"Dear Friend,—I hope I shall always be ready to show thee how much I desire thy prosperity every way. It is long I have travelled in my spirit for thee and knowing the temptations that would grow upon thee and the evil days by means thereof that must attend thee, I have prayed that thy faith fail not, and that thou faintest not by the way; for thou hast been called to a glorious mark, even that of an Heirship with the Beloved of God in Eternal Habitations. The Lord preserve thee to the end. Now as to w^t I mean at C. Mars.† it is this: a Course of Method of life as far as we can be our own, I would divide my days by the week, and then the times of the day, and when I had Considered and divided my business, I would proportion it to my time. Suppose, for example, thus: $\frac{1}{4}$ to Religion, in Waiting, Reading, Meditating, &c. . . . $\frac{1}{4}$ to some

*Footnote.—The letter is contained in "A Quaker Post Bag," by Mrs. G. L. Lampson, Longmans, Green & Co., Publishers, to whom I am indebted for permission to quote it.

† Christmas.

generall study; $\frac{1}{4}$ to meals and some Bodily Labour as Gardning, or some Mathematicall Exercise. $\frac{1}{4}$ to serve friends or neighbours and look after my Estate; It prevents consumption of time and confusion in Business. The books I spoke of that are most valuable for a moderate Library are as follows: For Religion the Bible, Friends' Books, of w^{ch} I advise an exact collection, binding the small up in vollumes together. The Books of Martyrs. For Controversy between Pap and Protestants Bp Jewel against Harding. L^l Faulkland of Infalibility, and Chillingworth. For Devotion the Scriptures, Friend's Epistles, Austin his City of God, his Soliloquies, Thom a Kempis, Bona, a late piece call Unum Necessarium, and a Voyce crying out of the Wilderness writt in Q Elizabeth's time; of Books forrunning Friends appearance, T. Saltmarsh, W. Dell, W. Erberry, Goad, Coppins, & Webster, his Works. For Religious History Eusebius, bp Usher's Annals, Cradock of the Apostles, History of the Waldenses S^r Sam Morland's of the Persecutions in Piedmont. Of mixt & generall History Prideaux, thin quarto, Petavius, a thin folio. Afterwards Dr Howel late of Cambridge, not forgetting S^r W. Raleigh's for his Preface sake. For natural Philosophy Enchiridion Physical and some of Sqr Boyle's Works. For Mathematicks, Leyborn. For Physick, Riverius. For the Gall, Way, and for Chymistry le Faber, unless a Practitioner, then, Helmont, Glauber, Crollius, Hartman Scroder & Tibaut &c.; and for Improvem^{ts} of Lands & Gardens Blith & Smith, Systema Agriculturae, English and French Gardener. For Policy, above all Books, the Bible, that is, the old Testam^t writings, Thucydes, Tacitus, Council of Trent, Machieval, Thynanus, Grotius's Annals. Of our

own Country Daniel and Trussel. S^r F^r Bacon Life of H. 7th Ld. Herbert's H. 8th and Camden Eliz. S^r Thom. Moor's Utopia. Nat. Bacon. Hist. of the Gov. of E. Sadler's Rights of the Kingdom, S^r Rob Cotton's Works, the Pamphlets since the Reformation pro et con. to be had at the Acorn, in Pauls Yard, to be bound up together, comprisable in about 6 quarto vollumes. Rushworth's Collections, tho large, are not unusefull, being particular, and our own History and the best since 30, w^{ch} is the chiefest time of Action. But I will add one, more, the English Memorials, by the Lord Whitlock, a great man, and who dyed a Confessor to truth, in w^{ch} thy Grandfather is handsomely mentioned. *Thes for the main Body of a study will be sufficient and very accomplishing.

"There are other Books of use and vallue, as Selden of Tythes, Tayler's Liberty of Prophecy, Goodwin's Antiquities, Cave's Primative Christianity, Morals of the Gentiles, Plutarch, Seneca, Epictetus, M. A. Antoninus. Also Lives, as Plutarch, Stanly's of the Philosophers, Lloyd's State Worthys, Clark's Lives and Winstanley's England's Worthys. There are 6 or 8 Books Publisht by one R. B. as the History of England, S and J surprising Miracles, Admirable Curiositys & that have profitable diversion in them. But if I were to begin again, I would buy as I read, or but a few more at least, and in Reading have a pencil, and w^t is of Instruction or observable, mark it in the Margent with the most leading word and collect those memorandums with their Pages into a clean sheet put into the

* Probably his great-grandfather, Sir Gervase Clifton. See Whitlock's "Memorials of the English Affairs, p. 185."

Book or a Pocket Book for that purpose, w^{ch} is the way to fasten w^t one reads and to be master of other men's sense.

"Allways write thy name in the Title Pages, if not year and cost, that if lent, the Owner may be better remembered and found. Observe to put down in a Pocket-Book, for that purpose, all openings of moment w^{ch} are usually short, but full and lively; for I have few things to remember with more trouble then forgetting of such irrecoverable Thoughts and Reflections. I have lost a vollume of them. They come without toyle or beating the Brain, therefore the purer, and upon all subjects, Nature, Grace, and Art. Thou art young, now is the time and use it to the utmost profit. Oh! had I thy time in all likelihood to live, w^t could I not do. Therefore, prize thy time. I am now 26 years beyond thy age, and tho I have done and sufferd much, I could be a better Husband of that most precious Jewel. The Lord direct thee in thy ways, and he will, if thee take him for thy Guide, and if he be the Guide of thy Youth, to be sure he will not leave thee in thy old age. To him I committ thee and to the word of his Grace with w^{ch} is wisdom and a sound understanding that makes men Gentlemen indeed and accomplit to inherit both Worlds, for the Earth is for the Meek, and Heaven for the Poor and Pure in Heart and Spirit.

"Give my love and respects to thy Mothet and Relations; all your welfare in the Lord I wish and am affectionately Thy Cordial friend.

W. P."

"My dear love salutes friends and J. Gr. especially.

"My indisposition with the toothache abliged me to use an other hand. Farewell.

"I forgot Law Books, as the Statutes at Large and abridged-Doctors and Students, Horn's Mirror of Justice,

Cook's Institutes, the Compleat Justice, Sheriff, Constable & Clark, and of Wills, Godolphin, Justinians Institutes is an excellent book also."

Lord Macaulay's attitude to the Quaker at the time of Fox and Penn, and especially when he writes of the latter, is open to just comment and criticism. It is interesting as showing the anti-Quaker side. Hayward says in his critique of the great historian: "Give Lord Macauley a hint, a fancy, an insulated fact or phrase, a scrap of a journal or the tag end of a song, and on it, by the abused prerogative of genius, he would construct a theory of national or personal character, which should confer undying glory, or inflict indelible disgrace."

In this connection, Macauley's confession of faith is interesting:

"My confession of faith is very simple and explicit, and is at the service of anybody who asks for it. I do not agree with the High Churchmen in thinking that the state is always bound to teach religious faith to the people. I do not agree with the Voluntaries in thinking that it is always wrong in a State to support a religious establishment. I think the question a question of expediency, to be decided on a comparison of good and evil effects. I do not think it necessary to inquire whether, if there were no established kirk in Scotland, it would be fit to set one up. I find a kirk established. I am not prepared to pull it down; I will leave it what it has, but I will arm it with no new powers. I will impose no new burdens on the people for its support. I will make no distinction as to civil matters between the Churchman and the Dissenter. There are some questions which relate purely to the internal constitution of the

church. Those questions ought, in my opinion, to be decided with a view to the efficiency and respectability of the Church."

The historian comments as follows: "But though he, Penn, harangued on his favorite theme, with a copiousness that tired his hearers out, and though he assured them that the approach of a golden age of religious liberty had been revealed to him by a man who was permitted to converse with Angels," no impression was made on the Prince. The reference obviously refers to George Fox, and would have been important if true. Again, "Penn was at Chester on a pastoral tour. His popularity and authority among his brethren had greatly declined, since he had become a tool of the King of the Jesuits." Macauley obtains this from Gerard Croese "*Etiam Quakeri Pennum non amplius, ut ante, ita amabant ac magnificiebant, quidam aversabantur ac fugiebant.*" Bonrepaux writes practically the same to Seignelay: "Penn, *chef des Quakers, qu'on sait être dans les intérêts du Roi d'Angleterre, est si fort décrié parmi ceux de son parti qu'ils n'ont plus aucune confiance en lui.*"

Yet none of the journals of the time written or kept by those intimate with Penn substantiate this. On the contrary, I find that Henry Gouldney writing to Sir John Rodes, says "As to our friend, W. P., he was fully clerid without any objection the last term—I shoewd him thine, and his dear love is to thee and thy Mother." Penn is also charged by Macauley with being the King's representative in the matter of the possible instillation of the Papal Bishop of Oxford at Magdalene College. There was nothing dishonorable in this service, as Penn was the acknowledged friend and intimate of the King, and he was an enlightened

gentleman who stood with his friends, whether Papists or Quakers without shame."

Again in 1690, under William and Mary, Macauley says, "The conduct of Penn was scarcely less scandalous. He was a zealous and busy Jacobite; and his new way of life had been to moral purity. It was hardly possible to be at once a consistent Quaker and a courtier; but it was utterly impossible to be at once a consistent Quaker and a conspirator. It is melancholy to relate that Penn, while professing to consider that even defensive war as sinful, did everything in his power to bring a foreign army into the heart of his own country. He wrote to inform James that the adherents of the Prince of Orange dreaded nothing so much as an appeal to the sword, and that, if England were now invaded from France or from Ireland, the number of Royalists would appear to be greater than ever. Avaux thought this letter so important that he sent a translation of it to Lewis."

Penn was arrested after this as he came from the funeral of George Fox, but his explanation was accepted by William, as he boldly declared that James was his friend. Macauley says, "Penn's proceedings had not escaped the observation of the government. Warrants had been out against him; and he had been taken into custody; but the evidence against him had not been such as would support a charge of high treason; he had, as, with all his faults he deserved to have, many friends in every part; therefore soon regained his liberty, and returned to his plots."

There is evidently so much prejudice in the mind of the historian regarding William Penn that it is difficult to justify him, by a fair balancing of the facts and conditions. Among those who lived with him, Penn was a high-minded,

pure and honorable gentleman. Even Pepys in his diary, inimitable for its mimetic descriptions, takes a fling at Penn: "Here comes Will Pen to call upon my wife. He is now a Quaker or some much melancholy thing." To be a Quaker in the time of Pepys was indeed a melancholy circumstance.

That the Quakers were more or less fanatical, that in their zeal they made too much of non-essentials, "wearing the hat," "taking oaths," saying "thee and thou," can be admitted; but it should be remembered that these people were endeavoring to live the life outlined by Christ, and that they accepted the interpretation of the Bible literally. "Swear not at all," meant to them that one was not to take an oath under any circumstances. It was a non-essential from the standpoint of 1913, as were many other so-called "peculiarities." It was the essence of the religion of the Friends in the time of Fox, but when the Quakers are criticised in the twentieth century as mad fanatics, as insulting the clergy, as prophesying evil to those who abused them, as insulting men in power and the nobility by writing to them and pointing out the error of their ways, it should always be borne in mind what the Quaker movement really meant. It was not a propaganda to establish a new religion, it was not an attempt to establish a new sect or church; but was a mighty protest, a tremendous rebuke against the sensuality, immorality, the public and private debauchery of the times.

With marvelous perseverance these humble folks seemed to have been called upon to introduce in 1650 and later, the code of morals recognized as essential by every Christian church in 1912-13. They launched a twentieth century

code of morals two hundred and sixty years ago. Little wonder they were looked upon as one would a mad dog, and an attempt made in England and America to exterminate them. Little wonder their ears were cut off, their tongues bored, their foreheads branded, and laws conceived to render it legal. The Quakers were looked upon as monsters and extremely dangerous. Let us glance at the reason why their actions so amazed the rest of the world.

It is a sorry picture, this cause that forced George Fox to raise his voice and cry to Heaven for reform, and it can only be understood by glancing at the actual picture of the time.

To obtain an idea of social customs in the time of Fox, we must imagine the best society to-day with every moral sense degraded. One has but to read Macauley, or better Pepys, or any of the works of the time. Fisher, the biographer of Penn, says the age was full of the most extraordinary contradictions existing side by side. Such men as Milton or Dryden, Locke or Penn, daily heard language and saw spectacles on the streets that would amaze and horrify the modern world. The private life of Charles II. was well known as that of a degenerate of the lowest type. While the King's informers were denouncing Fox for wearing his hat, the King's "lords and ladies" are said to have indulged in disgraceful orgies. It is a gross story of an age when literature, the stage, and conversation were low and debased, and morality at such a low ebb that it existed but in name among the nobility and upper classes. It was this state of affairs, the every day open orgies of the aristocracy and their imitators, which oppressed Fox and spurred him on to rebuke the world and demand a return to true Christianity

and moral living. The Quakers could not take to the sword as did Cromwellians, so they unsheathed their tongues and laid about them, in the high-ways, at bars, inns, cock and bull fights, bull and badger baitings, at prize fights, in churches, cathedrals, in letters to kings and popes; and so loud a noise did they create, so keen were their vocal sallies and thrusts that they arrested the attention of the entire world, and framed a protest that still hangs high among the stars of the modern pagan night.

Fox and his followers were sometimes insulting; they seemed to outrage decency even according to modern standards by interfering with clergymen in churches; they doubtless did break the laws by refusing to pay tithes, attending conventicles, refusing to unhat in the presence of superiors; but it would be difficult to find a sane man or woman to-day, who after understanding the moral situation in the seventeenth century, who would not say that the Quakers were entirely justified in their actions.

The peculiar quality of justice dealt out to the Quakers is well shown in the case of William Penn, who was being tried for wearing his hat:

"Penn.—Shall I plead to an indictment that hath no foundation in law? If it contain the law you say I have broken, why should you decline to produce that law, since it will be impossible for the jury to determine or agree to bring in their verdict, who hath not the law produced, by which they shall measure the truth of this indictment, and the guilt or contrary, of my act.

Recorder.—You are a saucy fellow; speak to the indictment.

Penn.—I say it is my place to speak to the matter of the

law; I am arraigned a prisoner; my liberty, which is next to life itself, is now concerned; you are many mouths and ears against me, it is hard, I say again, unless you shew me, and the people, the law you ground your indictment upon, I shall take it for granted, your proceedings are merely arbitrary.

Observer.—(At this time several upon the bench urged, hard upon the prisoner, to bear him down.)

Recorder.—The question is, whether you are guilty of this indictment?

Penn.—The question is not whether I am guilty of this indictment but whether this indictment be legal. It is too general and imperfect to answer, to say it is the common law, unless we know both where and what it is; for where there is no law, there is no transgression, and that law which is not in being, is so far from being common, that it is no law at all.

Recorder.—You are an impertinent fellow; will you teach the Court what law is? It's *lex non scripta*, that which many have studied thirty or forty years to know, and would you have me tell you in a moment?

Penn.—Certainly, if the common law be so hard to be understood, it's far from being common, but if the Lord Coke in his *Institutes* be of any consideration, he tells us that common law is common right; and that common right is the great charter of privileges, confirmed 9 Hen. III. 29; 25 Edw. III. 8; Coke's *Insts.* 2 p, 56.

Recorder.—Sir, you are a troublesome fellow, and it is not for the honor of the Court to suffer you to go on.

Penn.—I have asked but one question, and you have not answered me; though the rights and privileges of every Englishman be concerned in it.

Recorder.—Take him away; my Lord, if you take not some course with this pestilent fellow, to stop his mouth, we shall not be able to do anything tonight.

Mayor.—Take him away, take him away! turn him into the Baledock.”

The inclination to quote the distinguished justice in the case of Bardell against Pickwick, in a parallel case, is almost irresistible.

CHAPTER IX.

THE QUAKERS UNDER JAMES THE SECOND AND WILLIAM AND MARY.

1685-1702.

The decade between 1676 and 1686 was a momentous period among the Quakers and in the history of England. It saw the founding of Pennsylvania. The first Latin version of Barclay's "Apology" was now issued, to be followed by an English edition in two years. Bunyon was writing his "Pilgrim's Progress." Now came the intrigues which led to the death of Charles the Second and the coronation of James the First; the latter, the first silver lining the Quakers had seen in the clouds of their persecution since the early days of Cromwell. The innumerable and violent warfares of intrigue carried on among the politicians who surrounded Charles, each minister trying to supplant the other, created a feeling of unrest in England difficult to allay. Lord Halifax, the Duke of York, William Penn's friend, shown with him in the famous picture of the old Bull and Mouth meeting, Godolphin and others, were notable figures. The King, vacillating, good naturedly Machiavellian to the last, compromised with the last courtier who had his attention. In all the kingdom there were but five million, two hundred thousand, five hundred subjects, not equal to the population of London to-day; yet the activity of the polititians in 1682-3 in London alone, was out of all proportion to its size; all of which had a direct relation to the Quakers who

had enemies in every faction, clique or party. They were tossed about like a ball from one to another on every possible excuse, from saying *thou* to refusing to pay tithes, or from wearing their hats to attending meetings.

The reign of Charles had been disastrous to Quakers indirectly, but had stimulated Quakerism. They had flourished under a series of tortures too disagreeable to include in a popular history when the book of Martyrs is designed especially to present such melancholy spectacles. It is difficult to imagine the England of these days, when cattle thieves (masstroopers) devastated the country and were kept down by bloodhounds to hunt them and the free booters. Famous country seats as well as farm houses, were fortified. Travelling abroad was unsafe. Macaulay says that no man ventured into the country without making his will. Yet Penn, Fox, Howgill, Pennington, Fell, Fox the younger, Christopher Holder, Burnyeat and others were always abroad. No one, not even judges, travelled without a guard. Food had to be carried, as there were no hotels or inns, and half civilized, wild people were to be met with here and there, a menace to the unprotected. The national revenue was less than a sixth of that of France, yet the excise in the last year of the King produced over two million dollars. Even the chimneys were taxed, and if the hearth money was not forthcoming, the furniture was taken, and the people evicted, as the last resort, and imprisoned for debt. A million dollars a year was taken from chimney taxes alone.

“The good old dames, whenever they the chimney men
espied,
Unto their nooks they haste away,

Their pots and pipkins hide.
There is not one old dame in ten,
And search the nation through,
But if you lack of chimney men,
Will spare a curse or two."

Pepys.

There was a small standing army of about six thousand men. A private could knock his colonel down, safe in the knowledge that his punishment would be that for mere assault and battery. His pay, if in the foot guards, was ten pence per diem, and in the line nine pence. The army was certainly not a menace to the rights of the people now, and was a melancholy comparison to the splendid columns reared by Cromwell. On the other hand, the navy was the pride of the country though it would not have borne close investigation. The army and navy were kept on short allowance, but, says Macaulay, "The personal favorites of the sovereign, his ministers, and the creatures of these ministers were gorged with public money." "From the nobleman who held the white staff and the great seal," says Macaulay, "down to the humblest tide water and gauger. What would now be called gross corruption was practiced without disguise and without reproach. Titles, places, commissions, pardons were daily sold in the market overtly by the great dignitaries of the realm; and every clerk in every department imitated to the best of his power the evil example."

Macaulay draws the following picture of the palace of King Charles in his *History of England*. "His palace had seldom presented a gayer or more scandalous appearance than on the evening of Sunday, the first of February,

1685. Some grave persons who had gone thither, after the fashion of that age, to pay their duty to their sovereign, and had expected that, on such a day, his court would wear a decent aspect, were struck with astonishment and horror. The great gallery of Whitehall, an admirable relic of the magnificence of the Tudors, was crowded with revellers and gamblers. The King sat there chatting and toying with three women whose charms were the boast, and whose vices were the disgrace, of three nations. Barbara Palmer, Duchess of Cleveland, was there, no longer young, but still retaining some traces of that superb and voluptuous loveliness which twenty years before overcame the hearts of all men. There too was the Duchess of Portsmouth, whose soft and infantile features were lighted up with the vivacity of France. Hortensia Mancini, Duchess of Mazarin and niece of the great Cardinal, completed the group. She had been early removed from her native Italy to the court where her uncle was supreme. His power and her own attractions had drawn a crowd of illustrious suitors round her. Charles himself, during his exile, had sought her hand in vain. No gift of nature or of fortune seemed to be wanting in her. Her face was beautiful with the rich beauty of the South, her understanding quick, her manners graceful, her rank exalted, her possessions immense; but her ungovernable passions had turned all these blessings into curses. She had found the misery of an ill-assorted marriage intolerable, had fled from her husband, had abandoned her vast wealth, and, after having astonished Rome and Piedmont by her adventures, had fixed her abode in England. Her house was the favorite resort of men of wit and pleasure, who, for the sake of her smiles and her

table, endured her frequent fits of insolence and ill humour. Rochester and Godolphin sometimes forgot the cares of state in her company. Barillon and Saint Evremond found in her drawing room consolation for their long banishment from Paris. The learning of Vossius, the wit of Waller, were daily employed to flatter and amuse her. But her diseased mind required stronger stimulants, and sought them in gallantry, in basset, and in usquebaugh. While Charles flirted with his three sultanas, Hortensia's French page, a handsome boy, whose vocal performances were the delight of Whitehall, and were rewarded by numerous presents of rich clothes, ponies, and guineas, warbled some amorous verses. A party of twenty courtiers was seated at cards round a large table on which gold was heaped in mountains."

This was the beginning of the end, and it was these things which created and perpetuated Quakerism and the non-conformists. The King died a Roman Catholic, urbane, clever, good naturedly cynical to the last; passed away apologizing to the gathered throng of mourners that it had taken him so long to die.

King James was a Catholic and Westminster Abbey now saw the Catholic service for the first time in over a century; yet on his accession in 1685 there was a general releasing of Quakers, not to celebrate the event, as was often the custom, but because the new king was more or less friendly and tolerant, and from now on their martyrdom gradually ceased. One of the earliest petitions King James received was from the Quakers who pointed out that fifteen hundred Quakers had been imprisoned, two hundred of them being women; that three hundred had died in prison. They gave a list of

the old laws, under which the Quakers were abused and persecuted, which were as follows, and asked to have them taken from the statutes:

“The 5th of Eliz. ch. 23, De excommunicato capiendo.

The 23d of Eliz. ch. 1, for twenty pounds per month.

The 29th of Eliz. ch. 6, for continuation.

The 35th of Eliz. ch. 1, for abjuring the realm, on pain of death.

The 1st of Eliz. ch. 2, for twelve pence a Sunday.

The 3d. of K. James ch. 4, for premunire, imprisonment during life, estates confiscated.

The 13th and 14th of K. Charles, against Quakers, &c., transportation.

The 22d. of K. Charles II. ch. 1, against seditious conventicles.

The 17th of K. Charles II. ch. 2, against non-conformists.

The 27th of Hen. VIII. ch. 20, some few suffer thereupon.

This was followed by several other petitions which covered more or less thoroughly all the persecutions to date. These addresses were presented to King James at Windsor by George Whitehead, Alexander Parker, Gilbert Latay and Francis Canfield. With this was a statement of the prisoners by county, Holderness and the Yorkshire district leading with two hundred and seventy-nine victims.

The King's first movement in the direction of liberty of conscience was in the execution of the following proclamation:

“James R.

Whereas our most entirely beloved brother, the late king, deceased, had signified his intentions to his attorneys general for the pardoning of such of his subjects as had been suffer-

ers in the late rebellion for their loyalty, or whose parents or nearest relations had been sufferers in the late rebellion for that cause, or who had themselves testified their loyalty and affection to the government, or were persecuted, convicted or indicted for not taking or refusing to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, or one of them, or had been prosecuted upon any writ, or any penalty, or otherwise, in any of the courts of Westminster Hall, or in any of the ecclesiastical courts, for not coming to church, or not receiving the sacrament:

And whereas the several persons, whose names are mentioned in the schedule annexed to this our warrant, have produced unto us certificates for the loyalty and sufferings of them and their families:

Now in pursuance of the said will of our said most dear brother, and in consideration of the sufferings of the said persons, our will and pleasure is, that you cause all process and proceedings, *ex officio*, as well against the said persons mentioned in the said schedule hereunto annexed, as against all other persons as shall hereafter be produced unto you, to be wholly superseded and stayed, and if any of the said persons be decreed or pronounced excommunicated, or have been so certified, or are in prison upon the writ *excommunicato capiendo*, for any of the causes aforesaid, our pleasure is, that you absolve and cause such persons to be absolved, discharged, or set at liberty, and that no process or proceedings whatsoever be hereafter made in any court against any of the said persons for any cause before mentioned, until our pleasure therein shall be further signified.

Given at our Court at Whitehall, this eighteenth of April, 1685, in the first year of our reign.

To all Archbishops and Bishops; to the Chancellors and Commissioners; and to all arch-deacons and their officials, and all other ordinarys and persons executing ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

By his Majesty's command,
Sunderland."

With these pardons of Quakers came the release of a number of Colonial prisoners, one being the author's sixth great grandfather, Edward Gove, of Hampton Manor, Hampton, New Hampshire. Gove's crime had been to lead an insurrection against Governor Cranfield of New Hampshire, voluminous accounts of which are to be found in the colonial history of New England. Fiske says:—"Within three years an arrogant and thieving ruler, Edward Cranfield, had goaded New Hampshire to acts of insurrection." Gove's estates were seized, and he was banished and imprisoned in the Tower of London for three years, serving with William Penn and others. On his pardon, his estates were restored to him. The pardon, which is herewith given, and a photograph of the original goes with the deed of the old manor house at Hampton, which has always remained in the family, being now owned by the Honorable William B. Gove of Salem, Mass.

The pardon is as follows:

"James R.

Whereas Edward Gove was neare three yeares since apprehended, tryed and Condemned for High Treason in our Colony of New England in America, and in June 1683 was committed Prisoner to the Tower of London. We have thought fit hereby to signify Our Will and Pleasure to you,

that you cause him the said Edward Gove, to be inserted in the next General Pardon that shall come out for the poor Convicts of Newgate, without any condition of transportation, he giving such Security for his good behaviour as you shall think requisite, and for so doing this shall be your Warrant. Given at Our Court at Windsor the 14th day of September 1685 in the first Yeare of Our Reigne.

To our Trusty and

By his Majesty's command,

Welbeloved,

Sunderland.

The Recorder of our City

of London and all others

whom it may concerne.

Edward Gove to be inserted in ye Generall Pardon."

Edward Gove's daughter Hannah, who married Abraham Clements, remained in Hampton, and the following is a letter written by the young Quaker to her father, the original of which is still in the family:

"For my honoured father Edward Gove, in the Tower or elsewhere, I pray deliver with care.

From Hampton the 31st of ye First Month 1686.

Dear and kind father, through God's good mercy having this opportunity to send unto ye, hoping in ye Lord yt ye art in good health. Dear father my desire is yt God in his good mercy would be pleased to keep ye both in body and soul. Loving father it is our duty to pray unto God that he would by his grace give us good hearts to pray unto him for grace and strength to support us so yt ye love of our hearts and souls should be always fixed on him Whereby we should live a heavenly Life while we are on yt earth so yt God's blessing may be with us always. As our Saviour Christs says in ye world ye shall have troubles but in mee ye shall have peace.

James R

Whereas Edward Gove was near three
years since apprehended, tried & condemned
for High Treason in Our Colony of New
England in America, and in June 1683 was
committed Prisoner to the Tower of London.
We have thought fit hereby to signify Our
Will and Pleasure to you, that you
cause him the said Edward Gove. to
be inserted in the next General Pardon
that shall come out for the poor Convicts
of Sluggate, without any condition of
transportation, he giving such Security
for his good behaviour, as you shall
think requisite. And for so doing this
shall be your Warrant. Given at Our
Court at Windsor the 14 day of September
1685 in the first yeare of Our Reigne

By the said James R
The Recorder of Our City
of London and all others
whom it may concerne.

By his May comand
Cundersant

Edward Gove to be received in a General Pardon



KING CHARLES II.

So in ye Lord Jesus Christ ye true Light of the world there is peace, joy and Love, with strength and power and truth to keep all those yt trust in him. Dear father I hope God in his good mercy will be pleased to bring us together Again to his glory and our good interest ye.

Let us hear from ye all opportunityes as may bee for it is great joy to hear from ye father. I have one little daughter. My husband is troubled with a could. He remembers his duty to ye.

So no more at present. I rest thy Dutiful son and daughter,

Abraham Clements,
Hannah (Gove) Clements.

Not only were the Quakers now unmolested, but the tables were turned, and many of the spies, false witnesses, and guilty justices were arrested. One was John Hilton, who was committed on the following warrant here given, as the first rebuff to the swarm of enemies that had been attracted to the Quakers and their meetings as informers for what they could make out of it:

“To the Keeper of Newgate:

Receive into your custody the body of John Hilton, herewith sent you, being charged upon oath before me, for compounding several warrants under my hand and seal, for levying for several sums of money on persons convicted for being at several conventicles in Kent, London, and Middlesex; and being also indicted for the same in the several counties aforesaid, and the bills found against him; and also that he, the said John Hilton, hath refused to obey the Right Honorable Sir Edward Herbert, Lord Chief

Justice's Warrant. And him safely keep, until he shall be discharged by due course of law. And for so doing this shall be your warrant.

Dated the 23rd of December 1685.

Tho. Jenner, Recorder.

Let notice be given to me before he be discharged."

The unfortunate Duke of Monmouth, illegitimate son of Charles, now appeared off the coast of England with several men of war, but was defeated in the engagement that followed, and subsequently died on the block. The Earl of Argyle attempted a rebellion in Scotland against the King, and was sentenced to death by Jeffries who inspired England with all the terror of a Jonathan Wild by the ferocity of his nature. The Friends now petitioned the Lords, Burgomasters and Rulers of the City of Embden in East Friesland, thanking them for a decision to permit Quakers to live in their city with complete liberty of conscience. The King now displayed his complete clemency by ordering the release of all Quakers everywhere in his dominions, even the West Indies and Barbadoes. One of the last petitions from imprisoned Quakers was as follows; it was signed by sixteen Friends who had been in jail from two to fifteen years:

"To chief Justice Herbert and Judge Wright, assigned to hold assizes, and jail-delivery for the western circuit, at Wells for the county of Somerset, the thirtieth of the month called March, 1686.

Several of the people called Quakers, now prisoners in the jail at Ivelchester, in the county of Somerset, on behalf of themselves and many others of the same people, in humility show,

That since the wise Disposer of all things hath ordered your employment in this honorable service, to relieve the oppressed, and deliver the captives; and since King James II that now is, hath committed part of his clemency to your custody, to distribute the same as the Lord hath inclined his heart; and having taken particular notice of our sufferings, and signified his will and pleasure, that we, the people commonly called Quakers, should receive the full benefit of his general pardon, with all possible ease; which grace and favor we do with all thankfulness, acknowledge to God as the chief author, who hath the hearts of kings at his disposal; and to the King, as being ready herein to mind that which the Lord inclined his heart unto; and not without hope to find the like opportunity to render to you our hearty thanks, for the full accomplishment of that which our God allows, and the King so readily grants us; and also hearing the report of your nobility and moderation, in managing this weighty trust committed to you, we are emboldened thus to address ourselves, though in plainness of speech, yet in sincerity of heart, to lay before you, that we have several years been prisoners in the jail aforesaid, not for any plotting against the king or government, or harm done to his subjects; our peaceable lives have manifested our fidelity to the King, and love to our neighbors, it being contrary to our principles to do otherwise; but only for conscience sake, because in obedience to Christ Jesus, we dare not swear at all, or forbear to worship God, as he hath ordained, nor conform to those worships which we have no faith in; which to omit the one, or practice the other, we should therein sin, and so wound our consciences, and break our peace with God: and what good then should our lives do us, if we might enjoy so much of the world's favor and friendship.

Our humble request therefore to you is, to consider and compassionate our suffering condition, and improve the power and authority that God and the king hath entrusted you withal, for our relief and liberty; we still resolving, and hoping through God's assistance, honor to the king, and honesty to all his subjects, by our godly, humble, and peaceable conversation. The particular causes of our imprisonments are herewith attested, under our keeper's hand. And we further pray, that mercenary informers, and envious prosecutors against us, only for conscience sake, may, according to your wisdom and prudence, be discouraged from prosecuting such actions; by which many industrious and conscientious families and persons are in danger of being ruined; and we encouraged in our diligence in our respective callings, and may enjoy the benefit of our industry; and so shall we be the better to perform with cheerfulness the duties we owe to God, the king, and all men. The Lord guide you in judgment, and more and more incline your hearts to love mercy, and do justice, and grant you the reward thereof; which is truly our desire and prayer."

The Friends appreciating the clemency of the King, now drew up the following address:

"To King James II., over England, &c.

The humble and thankful address of several of the king's subjects, commonly called Quakers, in and about the city of London, on behalf of themselves and those of their communion.

May it please the king,

Though we are not the first in this way, yet we hope we are not the least sensible of the great favors we are come to present the king our humble, open, and hearty thanks for;

since no people have received greater benefits, as well by opening our prison doors, as by his late excellent and Christian declaration for liberty of conscience; none having more severely suffered, nor stood more generally exposed to the malice of ill men, upon the account of religion; and though we entertain this act of mercy with all the acknowledgements of a persecuted and grateful people; yet we must needs say, it doth the less surprise us, since it is what some of us have known to have been the declared principle of the king, as well long before, as since, he came to the throne of his ancestors.

And as we rejoice to see the day that a king of England should from his royal seat so universally assert this glorious principle, that conscience ought not to be constrained, nor people forced for matters of mere religion (the want of which happy conduct in government, has been the desolation of countries, and reproach of religion); so we do with humble and sincere hearts, render to God first and the King next, our sensible acknowledgements; and because they cannot be better expressed than in a godly, peaceable, and dutiful life, it shall be our endeavor, with God's help, always to approve ourselves the king's faithful and loving subjects; and we hope that after this gracious step the king hath made toward the union of his people, and security of their common interest, has had a due consideration, there will be no room left for those fears and jealousies that might render the king's reign uneasy, or any of them unhappy.

That which remains, great prince, for us to do, is to beseech Almighty God, by whom kings reign, and princes decree justice, to inspire thee more and more with his excellent wisdom and understanding, to pursue this Christian

design of ease to all religious dissenters, with the most agreeable and lasting methods: And we pray God to bless the king, his royal family and people with grace and peace; and that after a long and prosperous reign here, he may receive a better crown amongst the blessed.

Which is the prayer of, &c.”

Another address was drawn up at the London Yearly Meeting, and was presented at Windsor by William Penn, who was now in London.

“To King James II., over England, &c.

The humble and grateful acknowledgements of his peaceable subjects called Quakers, in this kingdom.

From their usual Yearly Meeting in London, the 19th day of the Third month, vulgarly called May, 1687.

We cannot but bless and praise the name of Almighty God, who hath the hearts of princes in his hand, that he hath inclined the king to hear the cries of his suffering subjects for conscience-sake; and we rejoice, that instead of troubling him with complaints of our sufferings, he hath given us so eminent an occasion to present him with our thanks. And since it hath pleased the king out of his great compassion, thus to commiserate our afflicted condition, which hath so particularly appeared by his gracious proclamation and warrants last year, whereby above twelve hundred prisoners were released from their severe imprisonments, and many others from spoil and ruin in their estates and properties, and his princely speech in council, and Christian declaration for liberty of conscience, in which he doth not only express his aversion to all force upon conscience, and grant all his dissenting subjects an ample liberty to worship

God, in the way they are persuaded is most agreeable to his will, but gives them his kingly word the same shall continue during his reign; we do, as our friends of this city have already done, render the king, our humble, Christian and thankful acknowledgements, not only on behalf of ourselves, but with respect to our friends throughout England and Wales; and pray God with all our hearts, to bless and preserve thee, O king, and those under thee in so good a work: And as we can assure the king it is well accepted in the counties whence we came, so we hope the good effects thereof, for the peace, trade and prosperity of the kingdom, will produce such a concurrence from the parliament, as may secure it to our posterity in after-times; and while we live, it shall be our endeavor through God's grace, to demean ourselves as in conscience to God, and duty to the king, we are obliged.

His peaceable, loving,
And faithful subjects."

The king replied most affably as follows:

"Gentlemen,

I thank you heartily for your address. Some of you know, I am sure you do, Mr. Penn, that it was always my principle that conscience ought not to be forced, and that all men ought to have the liberty of their consciences. And what I have promised in my declaration, I will continue to perform as long as I live, and I hope before I die to settle it, so that after-ages shall have no reason to alter it."

In this year on the thirteenth of April, Christopher Holder died. He was buried at Hazell, in the parish of Almondsbury. He had been a minister for thirty-three years, and

serves as an illustration of how the Friends lived down the terrible afflictions that were their lot. Crippled, beaten, scourged, banished, one ear cut off, he never once shrank from the conscientious line of his duty. Of him Bowden, the historian says, "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace."

The Quakers were now unmolested. They wore their hats in the presence of the king, and he recognized that it was a part of their belief, and paid no attention to it; but that he did see the humor of the situation is evident when a Quaker appeared before him and did not uncover his head, the king immediately removed his hat whereupon the Quaker said, "Thee need not remove thy hat to me." "You are not aware of the custom of court," replied the king. "In the royal presence but one may wear a hat. If you wear your's, I will remove mine," which he did, standing with it under his arm, doubtless later laughing heartily over the incident. Whether the sober Quaker enjoyed it, or saw the point is a question. It is more than remarkable that James should so completely have given the Friends freedom of conscience; but giving him full credit for the best of motives, it must be remembered that he was influenced to some extent by the fact that the Papist enjoyed all the privileges of the freedom of conscience afforded the Quakers, and also that he was an intimate friend of William Penn.

The King did not add to his popularity by permitting the Jesuits to erect a college in the Savoy, or by dispossessing the Protestant fellows at Magdalene College, Oxford, in favor of Romanists. The climax came when the Pope's nuncio D'Adda appeared in state at Windsor. The king had given orders that the statement regarding the liberty

of conscience should be received in the churches, but the Episcopal bishops preferred to neglect this. The Archbishop of Canterbury and six bishops petitioned the king not to insist on this, as in their estimation it was illegal, which was of course a subterfuge. The king promptly had them arrested and sent to the Tower, and the extraordinary spectacle was witnessed of the Quakers visiting their ancient enemy now in jail. This was interesting, illustrating the charity of the Quakers and their forgiving disposition.

Barclay had evidence that certain bishops had been the means of securing the imprisonment of Quakers who died in jail, yet the Quakers were forgiving. Barclay and his friends heaped coals of fire upon the heads of their old enemies by visiting them and doing what they could to comfort them, and undoubtedly used their influence to obtain their release. Influence, the Quakers most certainly had, from the coronation of James on, and one need not look far for its source. William Penn, when a young man of fashion, before he joined the Friends, was an intimate friend and companion of the Duke of York, who was now King James, and the momentous change in the treatment of Quakers from the time of James can be laid in a large measure to this old friendship. In a word, William Penn had the ear of the king, who while a devout Catholic, did not fail to recognize the fact that the Quakers lived up to their doctrines, and that their "peculiarities" did not prevent them from being loyal subjects to the crown and good citizens.

This friendship is further shown by the fact that the King deputed William Penn to visit the continent and sound William of Orange as to his views, as he was a possible suc-

cessor to the British throne. When Penn made his report, James found that while he favored toleration to the Protestant Dissenters and the repeal of the penal laws against them, William was absolutely opposed to the abrogation of laws against Papists, whereupon he turned against him. It is a strange commentary on the world that the conflicts of religious views have caused more trouble and bloodshed than almost any other question, outside of mere desire of possession. England was constantly swayed, corrupted, led into wars, directly or indirectly, under the banner of the church.

This was the outlook in the very inception of the reign of James. He was an extreme Papist, and the majority of the English hated him; yet the king literally flaunted his views in the face of the people by surrounding himself with all the panoply of the Church of Rome. There could be but one end to this. The masses began to fear for their rights, they saw the shadow of Papal supremacy on the wall, and while the king was mentally scheming against William of Orange, the non-conformists and the Episcopalians were planning to seat him.

William Henry, Prince of Orange, was the grandson of Charles the First, who married a daughter of James. Their alliance had been carried out as a political cabal by Charles the Second, who thought by joining the house of Nassau, whose head was a pronounced leader of the Continental Protestant alliance, with the daughter of the Duke of York, he would appeal to the non-conformists. That this was a clever diplomatic move was shown by the fact that the patience of the people was soon exhausted. Plans were laid, and as an outcome, William of Orange entered Eng-

land at the head of an army of twelve thousand men; and James, the best friend the Quakers had, fled to France to save his life from the non-conformists malcontents, and the High Church Party. During the movements which led up to the seating of William and Mary, William Penn, who next to George Fox, was the most influential Quaker, became a suspect. It was known that he was an intimate of the deposed king, not merely because he had been commended to the king on the deathbed of his father, but because there was a strong friendship between the men. They were true friends, and all knew it. As a result, the enemies of the Quakers denounced Penn as a Jesuit in disguise, charged him with all the crimes in the calendar, and finally he was ordered to appear before the Lords of the Council.

The Friends were again in difficulties regarding the payment of tithes, and the taking of the oath, and many trials were held. George Fox was much affected by the political changes. He was, undoubtedly, broken by the terrible experiences he had had, and the constant journeying through the country, America and the continent, and extremely worried at the outlook. He says:

"In the seventh month I returned to London, having been near three months in the country for my health's sake, which was very much impaired; so that I was hardly able to stay in a meeting the whole time and often after a meeting was fain to lie down upon a bed. Yet did not my weakness of body take me off from service to the Lord; but I continued to labor in and out of meetings in the work of the Lord; as he gave me opportunity and ability.

I had not been long in London, before a great weight came upon me, and a sight the Lord gave me of the great

bustles and troubles, revolution and change, which soon after came to pass. In the sense whereof, and in the movings of the Spirit of the Lord, I wrote, 'A General Epistle to Friends, to forewarn them of the approaching storm; that they might all retire to the Lord in whom safety is,' as followeth:

My dear friends and brethren everywhere, who have received the Lord Jesus Christ, to whom he has given power to become his sons and daughters; in him ye have life and peace, and in his everlasting kingdom that is an established kingdom and cannot be shaken, but is over all the world, and stands in his power, and in righteousness and joy in the Holy Ghost, into which no unrighteousness, nor the foul, unclean spirit of the devil and his instruments can enter. Dear friends and brethren, everyone in the faith of Jesus, stand in his power, who has all power in heaven and earth given to him, and will 'rule the nations with his rod of iron, and dash them to pieces like a potter's vessel,' that are not subject and obedient to his power; whose voice will shake the heavens, and the earth, that that which may be shaken may be removed, and that which cannot be shaken may appear. Stand in him; and all things shall work together for good to them that love him.

And now, dear friends and brethren, though these waves, storms and tempests be in the world, yet you may all appear the harmless and innocent lambs of Christ, walking in his peaceable truth, and keeping in the word of power, wisdom, and patience: and this Word will keep you in the day of trials and temptations, that will come upon the whole world, to try them that dwell upon the earth. For the Word of God was before the World, and all things were

made by it: it is a tried word, which gave God's people in all ages wisdom, power and patience. Therefore let your dwelling and walking be in Christ Jesus, who is called the Word of God; and in his power, which is over all. Set your affections on things that are above where Christ sits at the right hand of God (mark) on those things which are above, where Christ sits; not those things that are below, which will change and pass away. Blessed be the Lord God, who by his eternal arm and power hath gathered a people to himself, and hath preserved his faithful to himself, through many troubles, trials and temptations; his power and seed, Christ, is over all, and in him ye have life and peace with God. Therefore in him all stand, and see your salvation, who is first, and last, and the Amen. God Almighty preserve and keep you all in him, your ark and sanctuary; for in him you are safe over all floods, storms, and tempests: for he was before they were: and will be when they are all gone.

London, the 17th of the
8th month, 1688.

G. F."

To the unfortunate Quakers, whose vital principle was peace, there seemed no end of war, as James formed a coalition with the King of France and entered Ireland where he was defeated in the battle of the Boyne. Peace was again attained, and the loyal subjects of William and Mary testified their joy in various ways. The Quakers did not fail to present an address to the King, which read as follows:

“To King William III. over England &c.

The grateful acknowledgement of the people commonly called Quakers, humbly presented:

May it please the King,

Seeing the most high God, who ruleth in the kingdom of men, and appointeth over them whomsoever he will, hath by his over-ruling power and providence, placed thee in dominion and dignity over these realms; and by his divine favor hath signally preserved and delivered thee from many great and eminent dangers, and graciously turned the calamity of war into the desired mercy of peace; we heartily wish that we and all others concerned may be truly sensible and humbly thankful to Almighty God for the same, that the peace may be a lasting and perpetual blessing.

And now, O king, the God of peace having returned thee in safety, it is cause of joy to them that fear him, to hear thy good and seasonable resolution effectually to discourage profaneness and immorality; righteousness being that which exalteth a nation; and as the king has been tenderly inclined to give ease and liberty of conscience to his subjects of different persuasions (of whose favors we have largely partaken,), so we esteem it our duty gratefully to commemorate and acknowledge the same; earnestly beseeching Almighty God to assist the king to prosecute all these his just and good inclinations, that his days here may be happy and peaceable, and hereafter he may partake of a lasting crown that will never fade away.

London, the 7th of the eleventh month
called January 1697.”

This was signed by George Whitehead, Daniel Quare, Thomas Lower, John Vaughton, John Edge and Gilbert

Latey, and was received by his majesty with every evidence of good will.

An act was now passed favorable to the Quakers, exempting the Dissenters from penal laws. The Quakers were allowed to hold meetings if the doors remained unlocked. George Fox, William Penn and others attended the meetings of Parliament daily and fought for the repeal of the tithing laws, but without avail. Quakers and all Dissenters were obliged to pay tithes. In the matter of taking the oath, the following, was allowed the Quakers as a substitute:

"I, A. B., do sincerely promise and solemnly declare, before God and the world, that I will be true and faithful to king William and queen Mary; and I do solemnly profess and declare, that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and renounce, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position, that princes excommunicated or deprived by the pope, or any authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I declare that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any power, jurisdiction, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm."

They were also forced to declare to their orthodoxy as follows:

"I, A. B., profess faith in God, the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true God, and in the holy Spirit, one God, blessed forevermore; and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration."

George Fox never abated his work, yet he was failing.

He says: "When I had staid about a month in London, I got out of town again. For by reason of the many hardships I had undergone in imprisonments, and other sufferings for truth's sake, my body, was grown so infirm and weak, that I could not bear the closeness of the city long together; but was fain to go a little into the country, where I might have the benefit of the fresh air. At this time I went with my son-in-law, William Mead, to his country house called Gooses in Essex." Again, "About the middle of the first month, 1688,9, I went to London, the parliament then sitting, and being then about the bill of indulgence. Though I was weak in body, and not well able to stir to and fro, yet so great a concern was upon my Spirit on behalf of truth and friends, that I attended continually for many days, with others, at the parliament-house, laboring with the members, that the thing might be done comprehensively and effectually.

In this and other services, I continued till towards the end of the second month, when being much spent with continual labour, I got out of town for a little while, as far as Southgate and thereabouts."

A result of his labors, and those of his friends, George Whitehead, Christopher Holder and others, referred to in the above, was the passing of the Act of Toleration, a signal victory for them in England and the colonies, as by it Parliament recognized the Quakers, demanded respect for their religion from all men, and literally exempted English Protestant Dissenters from the Church of England or from the effect of the old laws enforcing conformity.

No one Act in the history of England spoke stronger for its mental and moral uplift than this of the Calvinist, King

William, who thus introduced true Christian liberty into the country so long trodden under the heel of bigotry, and merciless intolerance.

In 1690 the Quakers lost, by death, one of their greatest men and finest characters, Robert Barclay. It was Barclay, refined, cultivated, well educated, who took the elements of Quakerism created by Fox and moulded them into a system, that as a hypothesis for a practical, moral uplift has no equal. The Quakers now had a status, were established as having rights before the law, and their meetings and influence rapidly increased over the country. They successfully prevented a bill from passing parliament, aimed against the publication of religious books.

In 1691, George Fox, who had been gradually failing, passed away. The later months he spent in London, and on Sunday, January 11, he attended a meeting at Gracechurch Street, and preached one of the most remarkable sermons of his career. Then, in the words of William Penn, "he triumphed over death, and was so even in his spirit to the last as if death were hardly worth notice or a mention." William Penn, his friend, wrote the sad news to his wife at Swarthmore. His words were, "I am to be the teller to thee of sorrowful tidings, which are these; that thy dear husband, and my beloved friend, George Fox, finished his glorious testimony this night, about half-an-hour after nine o'clock, being sensible to the last breath. Oh! he is gone, and has left us with a storm over our heads. Surely in great mercy to him, but an evidence to us of sorrows coming." Carlyle said, "No grander thing was ever done than when George Fox went forth determined to find Truth for himself, and to battle for it against all superstition, bigotry and intolerances."

The founder of Quakerism lies at Bunhills Friends Burying Ground. One can say, there lies a man who, during the most intolerant period in English history, held up his hand and rebuked the world. Fearless, consistent in all things, he made the greatest effort ever attempted to live the life of Christ, as he saw it.

William Penn was the object of constant attack and suspicion from the enemies of King James and friends of William and Mary. To have been the friend of the deposed king was all sufficient, and the enemies of Quakers, who had been disarmed by Parliament of their methods of attack, now concentrated their venom on Penn; hoping to destroy him and so strike down the now head of the Quakers. These attacks were extremely ingenious and were aided by the fact that William Penn disdained to deny his friendship, boldly stated that James had been and still was his friend; but as a loyal Quaker, he had affirmed his allegiance to King William.

There were many persons in London at this time, known as Jacobites and Nonjurors, who refused to take the oath of allegiance, and who never ceased their attempts to restore King James. The enemies of Penn and Quakerism did all they could to connect Penn with them, and he was openly and repeatedly charged with being a Jesuit in disguise. Letters to him from King James at the Court of Louis XIV were intercepted and he was again brought before the Privy Council; but he demanded an interview with the king, who was fully satisfied with his explanation of the correspondence.

During the king's absence in Ireland leading the army, a plot was discovered in Scotland, and the Queen arrested

all suspects, among them William Penn, the officers taking him into custody as he was returning from the funeral of his friend George Fox. Lord Preston, engaged in a plot to seat King James, stated that Penn was one of the conspirators, and another plotter, one William Fuller, swore that Penn was in league with Louis XIV to invade England; and the accusation that Penn was a Jesuit and secret emissary of Rome rendered it most difficult for him to clear himself. At this juncture, Penn disappeared from the public eye, sending the following explanation to his friends: "My privacy is not because men have sworn truly, but falsely against me: for wicked men have laid in wait for me, and false witnesses have laid to my charge things that I knew not; who have never sought myself, but the good of all, through great exercises; and have done some good, and would have done more, and hurt to no man; but always desired that truth and righteousness, mercy and peace, might take place amongst us."

So extensively had the report spread that William Penn was a Jesuit that when visiting Ireland in the year 1698 with Thomas Story and John Everet, they were charged with being Papists and their horses seized. William Penn denounced this as an outrage, and demanded an investigation, when he found that a law existed by which no Catholic could own a horse worth more than five pounds, five shillings, which is suggestive of the strenuous methods used in the seventeenth century to rid Ireland of Catholics. Penn presented the case to the Lord-chief-Justice, and his party was released and allowed to continue their preaching tour. To add to his annoyances and perplexities, the Pennsylvania Quakers had refused to provide funds for the estab-

lishment of military defense, proposing to depend on moral suasion; and with several charges, among them treason, hanging over him, Penn for two or three years was eliminated from the work he was doing, almost completely undone by the active enemies of Quakerism, who thus made him a scapegoat. It was only when Lord Preston escaped and his partner, Fuller, was found to be a perjurer and sentenced to the pillory, that the king began to suspect that Penn had been maligned and was innocent. When John Locke, author of the famous letter on toleration, Lords Ranclagh, Rochester and Sydney, waited on the king and asked for his pardon, on the ground that he had been most unjustly treated; it was awarded.

Penn was not satisfied with the royal clemency alone. Being innocent, he demanded an investigation by the Privy Council, which had repeatedly arrested him, and was honorably acquitted.

One of the last acts of William was one which saved the Quakers from much persecution. An Act had been passed giving them seven years of affirmation, instead of the oath. This was about expiring, but was increased to eleven. Soon after, the king was fatally injured and died, regretted and lamented by the English Protestants at large.

CHAPTER X.

QUEEN ANNE AND THE GEORGIAN PERIOD.

1702—1837.

The Quakers of England were profoundly stirred by the death of a beloved monarch, and the accession of Anne, who quieted the political enemies of the Quakers by promptly promising to carry out the policies of her late brother. This was welcomed by the Quakers who dreaded the extraordinary political upheavals which had characterized the history of England in the past thirty years. It had been a prophecy of George Fox that "God in his own time would work their deliverance, and that it would not be in the power of their enemies to root them out." When the mind reverts back to their struggles of nearly sixty years, through the eras of Cromwell, Charles the First and Second, and James, sixty years of endless battling with governors, kings, soldiery, priests, Catholics, Presbyterians, Baptists, Cromwellians, Cavaliers, Papists, Ranters and a hundred and one enemies, using all the weapons of law and fact, killing them, confining them in dens that reeked of the Inquisition, struck down, robbed, their houses wrecked, their women insulted, killed,—considering all this, and that in no instance during these six decades had a Quaker ever retaliated with a blow by hand or weapon, ever remonstrated, except by prayer or in acceptable language, the final triumph stands as the extraordinary event of a remarkable century.

During these stirring times, scores of Friends were

preaching. New men and women were coming to the front, Richard Claridge, John Audland, John Camm, Samuel Bownas, John Richardson, Stephen Crisp, Thomas Story, Thomas Chalkley, Charles Marshall, Susanne Fisher, Francis Ellington, I. Tiffen and many more, who travelled over England arousing the interest of the people, and solidifying the bands which connected the meeting houses, which now dotted the face of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales.

The Quakers of England now found themselves free, their ministers, men and women, occupied the field of religious and literary endeavor without serious protest from Papists or Episcopalians. The depths of the unfathomed caves of merciless attack seemed to have been sounded, and there was an adjustment of imaginative and actual values in their relation to life and property over the Christian world. No more did armed men enter meeting houses and drag out men, with curses and invective. No more were guards stationed along the approaches to towns and villages to pass the word, that the Quakers coming to town might be adequately stoned or perhaps killed. Justice and truth seemed to prevail, and the false reports, lies and defamations regarding the lives of Quakers were relegated to the depths of contumelious fiction. In the early days of the Quakers they were without influence and made little attempt to conciliate the powers that be; but as the crudities of the early times were tempered, the influential men of the sect as Fox, Penn, Holder, Barclay, Edmundson, Gove, Fell, Ap John and others used what influence they had for their betterment and did what they could to keep the reigning powers posted as to the loyalty of the Quakers

to the throne; no difficult matter for a sect which would not swear, which held ideas not always in accord with the splendors that surrounded the king.

In accordance with this policy, George Whitehead upon the ascendance to the throne of Queen Anne, drew up an address of welcome from the Quakers, which was introduced by the Duke of Marlborough and the Duke of Ormond, friends of William Penn:

“To Queen Anne, over England, etc.

May it please the Queen,

We, thy peaceable subjects, cannot but be sorrowfully affected with a deep sense of the loss sustained by the death of our late king William the Third, whom God made the instrument of much good to these nations; a prince who indeed desired to be the common father of his people, and as such did by his great example, as well as precept, endeavor to unite them in interest and affection, and promoted and confirmed a legal liberty to tender consciences, by all which his reign was adorned, to the renown of his memory.

And it having pleased the all-wise God, the disposer of kingdoms, to preserve thee to succeed to the government of these nations; and thereby to the maintaining and consummating those great works so happily begun; we humbly beg leave to congratulate thy free and peaceable accession to the throne whence we observe the queen's excellent declaration, manifesting her care for the good of all her people, and therefore doubt not but we, her Protestant dissenting subjects, shall partake of her royal favor and protection.

We sincerely declare, that with the assistance of the

grace of God, we will always, according to our Christian duty, demonstrate our good affection, truth, and fidelity to the queen and her government; and heartily pray that his wisdom may direct, and his blessing be upon the queen and her great council, to the suppressing of vice and immorality, and the promoting of piety, peace, and charity, to the glory of God, and the benefit of these nations.

May the King of kings make thy reign long and glorious, to which temporal blessing we shall pray for thy eternal happiness.

Signed on behalf and by appointment of the aforesaid people, at a meeting in London, the 10th of the Second month, 1702."

The Queen was extremely friendly to the Quakers and above all stood for toleration, which the Quakers promptly recognized at the Yearly Meeting, March 30, 1702 in London:

"To Queen Anne, over England, etc.

The humble and thankful acknowledgement of the people commonly called Quakers, from their Yearly-Meeting in London, the 30th day of the Third month, called May, 1702.
May it please the Queen,

We, thy peaceable and dutiful subjects, met from most parts of thy dominions at our usual Yearly-Meeting, (for the promotion of piety and charity) being deeply affected with thy free and noble resolution in thy late speech at the prorogation of the Parliament, to preserve and maintain the act of toleration for the ease and quiet of all thy people, could not but in gratitude esteem ourselves engaged both to thank Almighty God for that favorable influence, and to renew and render our humble and hearty acknowledgements to

the queen for the same, assuring her, on behalf of all our friends, of our sincere affection and Christian obedience.

And we beseech God, the fountain of wisdom and goodness, so to direct all thy counsels and undertakings, that righteousness which exalts a nation, and mercy and justice, that establish a throne, may be the character of thy reign, and the blessings of these kingdoms under it.

Signed by the appointment and on behalf of the said meeting."

This memorial was presented at Court by William Penn to whom the Queen was very gracious, assuring him of her friendship, and reiterating her pro-toleration sentiments issued on ascending the throne. This year, the Friends lost one of their most distinguished members, Margaret Fell Fox, the widow of George Fox, whose home, Swarthmore, had so long been headquarters for the Quakers; she died in her eighty-seventh year. During this period unification of England and Scotland was accomplished, and the two were called Great Britain. This and the failure of the threatened invasion of Scotland stirred again the loyalty of the Quakers, who addressed the Queen in the following:

"To Anne, Queen of Great Britain, etc.

The grateful and humble Address of the People commonly called Quakers, from their Yearly Meeting in London, this 28th day of the Third month, called May, 1708.

We, having good cause to commemorate the manifold mercies of God vouchsafed to this united kingdom of Great Britain, believe it our duty to make our humble acknowledgements, first to the Divine Majesty, and next to the queen, for the liberty we enjoy under her kind and fav-

orable government, with hearty desires and prayers to Almighty God (who hath hitherto disappointed the mischievous and wicked designs of her enemies, both foreign and domestic) that he will so effectually replenish the queen's heart together with those of her great council, with his divine wisdom, that righteousness, justice, and moderation, which are the ornaments of the queen's reign and which exalt a nation, may be increased and promoted.

And we take this opportunity to give the queen the renewed assurance of our hearty affection to the present established government, and that we will as a people in our respective stations, according to our peaceable principles, by the grace of God, approve ourselves in all fidelity the queen's faithful and obedient subjects, and as such conclude with fervent prayers to the Lord of Hosts, that, after a prosperous, safe and long reign in this life, 'O queen, thou mayest be blessed with an eternal crown of glory.'

Fourteen members of the Yearly Meeting of 28th Third month 1708 signed this address, which was presented to her Majesty at a private audience by George Whitehead and Thomas Lower, ministers of the Society. When introduced by the cavalier, Chief Secretary of State Boyle, Whitehead said, "We heartily wish the queen health and happiness; we are come to present an address from our yearly meeting, which we could have desired might have been more early and seasonably timed, but could not, because our said meeting was but the last week; and therefore now hope the queen will favorably accept our address."

Upon receiving the thanks of her majesty, he again replied, "We thankfully acknowledge, that God by his power and special providence, hath preserved and defended the

queen against the evil designs of her enemies, having made the queen an eminent instrument for the good of this nation and the realm of Great Britian, in maintaining the toleration, the liberty we enjoy in respect to our consciences against persecution. Which liberty being grounded upon this reason in the late king's reign, for the uniting the Protestant subjects in interest and affection, the union of Great Britian now settled tends to the strength and safety thereof; for in union is the strength and stability of a nation, or kingdom; and without union, no nation or people can be safe; but are weak and unstable. The succession of the crown being settled and established in the Protestant line, must needs be very acceptable to all true Protestant subjects.

And now, O queen, that the Lord may preserve and defend thee for the future, the remainder of thy days, and support thee, under all thy great care and concern for the safety and good of this nation and kingdom of Great Britian, and that the Lord may bless and preserve thee to the end, is our sincere desire."

It is not to be imagined that the accumulated venom, dislike and prejudice against Quakers disappeared with their political disabilities. The essentials of Quakerism were still an excitent to the church and to Papists, and doubtless some extreme Quakers still insisted upon entering churches, which undoubtedly incensed the rightful owners. Be this as it may, the followers of Fox did not lack enemies. Literary scavengers who published pamphlets against them, wrote vituperative books, spread scandals by word of mouth, and more ingenious yet, encouraged pseudo friends to follow them under their own roofs, and create schisms

and disputes on questions of moral ethics. The keen and passionate cynicism of Swift was used against them, and the brilliant wits of the day kept up a sustained fusillade of badly disguised invective; all of which brought out a peculiar characteristic of the Quakers, which was that they progressed better under attack than in times of peace. Persecution, contumely, martyrdom, seemingly agreed with them as a body. Individuals went down before the persecution, families were wiped out, but the Society as a religious organization thrived under the lash of merciless and pitiless attack, and the iron hand of intolerance.

This undeniable fact has been used against the Quakers to prove that they were merely religious fanatics, who courted martyrdom; but this is not true. All great efforts, mental, physical, national or individual, religious or philanthropic, find their greatest activities in the time of strenuous endeavor, and a calm almost invariably follows a storm. As these lines are written I read in 'Die Post,' the organ of the German war party, "Germans have never thriven while enjoying an endless peace. Only the diversion of a great war can arouse the best powers of the nation, and subjugate the inferior qualities."

The Journal of George Fox, which is criticised for its lack of general and political information in a most exciting era, is filled with statements, addresses and sermons often replying to his literary enemies. The Quakers were not disturbed by attacks, or the extraordinary jokes at their expense, and occasionally they would even capture a priest of the Church of England. Such an instance was that of Samuel Crisp, who said, "O the love, the sweetness, tenderness and affection I have seen amongst this people."

Among the notable attempts to create dissension among the Friends, is the historic case of George Keith, who caused much excitement by writing and preaching against the Friends, but losing in the end. Among the distinguished ministers in the end of the century was Peter Gardner, who visited Scotland, and created much interest at Ury, meeting Robert Gerard, Margaret Jaffray, David Wallace, John Chalmers, John Bowstead and many others. Samuel Bownas, author and preacher, was doing yeoman service.

In 1710, the queen reiterated her determination to maintain toleration and liberty of conscience, and the Quakers of London again thanked her in a long and fervent address, which was repeated by the Yearly Meeting in 1713 at London, after the declaration of peace between England and France.

There were at this time at least sixty-five thousand Quakers in Great Britain and Ireland, and again the historian is attracted by the strange anomaly that when the seas were smoothest, the Society did not increase; the facts being that from about the time of the death of George Fox, or the decade that included it, the Society, while it increased in influence, really decreased in numbers. This continued until about 1800 when the sum total of Quakers in Great Britain and Ireland could not have been over twenty thousand. From then on they slowly increased. Many attempts have been made to explain this enigma. Eminolt ascribes it to the natural reaction, and the death of Fox, Barclay, Penn, Howgill, and other great leaders. But I should consider that the cause could be found in the fact that the Quakers were not active in proselyting compared to other sects. The fundamental objective of Quakerism was not to form

a new religion, but to warn and rebuke the whole world. The sect of Quakers, as a religious denomination, was an afterthought which arose from the conditions which obtained. To this must be added the strictness of the rules of life, the contrast to the gayeties of the day, and the difficulty in keeping young people in the church of tomorrow, in a fold in which the innocent pleasures of life natural to youth were, in a sense, eliminated. The First Day with its ultra religious books, often of a doleful character, was a melancholy experience for exuberant youth. The Catholic youth was brought up amid the splendor of the church and its gorgeous display. The youthful Quaker was color, music and art starved. Thus Friends were deprived, insensibly, of their greatest source of strength, development and increase.

The period of the activity of Fox and Penn saw some of the greatest wits in the history of England, whose temperamental characteristics were such as to make the Quaker fair game. Among the brilliant men of the time was John Milton, who was the secretary of Cromwell and who often discussed Quakerism with Ellwood. Edmund Waller was writing verse when Fox was in the Tower, and Lord Clarendon's clever pen was not always engaged in state papers; his prolix and redundant style finding ammunition in the mystic Quakers. The author of *Hudibras*, Samuel Butler, had as a pseudo patron the Duke of Buckingham. Jeremy Taylor, whom Coleridge says, "burned with Christian love," being an intense Papist and follower of Laud, aimed his cynical darts at the Quakers. Here, too, was Richard Baxter, launching his phillipics of wit, speculation, religion, into the sea of imaginative achievement at the expense of

the Quaker. Denham, Sir Rodger L'Estrange, Abraham Cowley, "O'errun with wit, and lavish of his thoughts," Andrew Meritt, and by no means least, John Evelyn, whose diary is a mine of well digested truth of the time of Charles the Second, and who was fair while caustic with the Quakers. Even Pepys, who despised Sir William Penn, was pleased to say that Evelyn was "a most excellent person." The clever pen of Bishop Tillotson, whom Dryden owned his master, Dryden himself the laureate, who rivalled Juvenal as a satirist, a brilliant lyric poet, John Locke, whom Laudor claims as the most elegant of prose writers, the learned Earl of Rosscommon, the Earl of Rochester, Congreve, Sir Richard Steele and many more, aimed their caustic epithetical bombs at the Quakers, who replied in the extraordinary pamphlets,* published in the shadow of St. Paul, whose style astonished and mystified the wits and artists of the seventeenth century.

In the year 1714 a bill was introduced into Parliament entitled "An Act to Prevent the Growth of Schisms." It was a revival of the old intolerance, and if passed, would have prevented the Quakers and other Dissenters from organizing and carrying on their schools, a permission already granted the Episcopal Church. The Quakers entered a vigorous protest against this iniquity, but the bill passed. The queen died in 1714, and George the First, prince elector of Brunswick, Lunenberg, was crowned king, being the son of Sophia, widow and electoral princess of Brunswick who had been selected for the succession. About forty representative Quakers under the leadership of George White-

*Footnote.—See appendix for typical pamphlet by Christopher Holder.

head, waited on the king. They were presented by Lord Townsend and their leader read the following address:

“To George, King of Great Britain &c.

The humble address of the people commonly called Quakers.

Great Prince,

It having pleased Almighty God to deprive these kingdoms of our late gracious queen, we do in great humility approach thy royal presence with hearts truly thankful to divine Providence for thy safe arrival, with the prince thy son, and for thy happy and uninterrupted accession to the crown of these realms; which, to the universal joy of thy faithful subjects, hath secured to thy people the Protestant succession, and dissipated the just apprehensions we were under, of losing those religious and civil liberties, which were granted to us by law, in the reign of King William the III., whose memory we mention with great gratitude and affection. We are also in duty obliged thankfully to acknowledge thy early and gracious declaration in council, wherein thou hast, in princely and Christian expressions, manifested thy just sense of the state of thy people, and which we hope will make all degrees of thy subjects easy.

And as it hath been our known principle to live peaceable under government, so we hope it will always be our practice, through God's assistance, to approve ourselves with hearty affection, thy faithful and dutiful subjects.

May the wonderful Counsellor and great Preserver of men, guide the king by his divine wisdom; protect him by his power; give him health and length of days here, and eternal felicity hereafter; and so bless his royal offspring,

T O
G E O R G E,
KING of GREAT BRITAIN, &c.

*The Humble ADDRESS of the People called
QUAKERS, from their Yearly-Meeting in
London, the 26th Day of the Third Month,
called May, 1716.*

May it Please the KING !

WE, Thy Faithful and Peaceable Subjects, being met in this Our Annual Assembly, do hold Our selves obliged, in Point of Principle and Gratitude, rather than by Formal and Frequent Addresses, humbly and openly to acknowledge the manifold Blessings and kind Providences of God, which have attended these Kingdoms ever since thy Happy Accession to the Throne.

AND as Our Religion effectually enjoins Us Obedience to the Supreme Authority, so it is with great Satisfaction that we pay it to a PRINCE, whose Justice, Clemency and Moderation, cannot but endear, and firmly unite the Hearts and Affections of all His True Protestant Subjects.

We are therefore sorrowfully Affected for the Unhappiness of those of Our Countrymen, who have so little Gratitude or Goodness, as to be uneasy under so just and mild an Administration: Nor can We reflect on the late Unjust and Unnatural Rebellion, without concluding the Promoters thereof, and Actors therein, were Men infatuated, and hurried by such an Evil Spirit, as would lay waste and destroy both the Civil and Religious Liberties of these Protestant Nations.

AND as God, the Lord of Hosts, has most signally appeared to the Confounding that *Black Conspiracy*, so We pray his Good Providence may always attend the KING's Councils and Undertakings, to the Establishing His Throne in Righteousness and Peace, and Making his House a sure House.

PERMIT Us therefore, *Great Prince*, to lay hold of this Opportunity to approach Thy Royal Presence, with Our hearty Thanks to the King and His Great Council, for all the Privileges and Liberties We enjoy. To behold a Prince upon the Throne, Solicitous for the Ease and Happiness of His People beyond any other Views, so heightens Our Satisfaction and Joy, that We want Words to express Our full Sense thereof. And therefore We can do no less, than assure the King, That as it is Our Duty to demean Our Selves towards the King's Person and Government, with all Faithful Obedience, so We are determined, by Divine Assistance, devoutly and heartily to Pray the God and Father of all Our Mercies, To vouchsafe unto the King a Long, Peaceable and Prosperous Reign; And that when it shall please the Almighty to remove from Us so precious a Life, by taking it to Himself, there may not want a Branch of Thy Royal Family endowed with Wisdom and Virtue to fill the Throne, till Time shall be no more.

The KING's Gracious Answer.

I Thank You for the Assurance of Duty and Affection to my Person and Government, contained in this Address, and You may always depend upon my Protection.

ADDRESS OF QUAKERS TO KING GEORGE



FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE
Frenchay, England (Upper)
WHERE CHRISTOPHER HOLDER WAS BURIED
"Swarthmore," England

that they may never fail to adorn the throne with a successor endowed with piety and virtue."

This was received by the King who assured the Quakers of his protection; and England, so far as the Royal family is concerned, became Germanized, and has so continued until today.

During 1715 and following years the Society of Friends had attained such proportions and its principles had become so well known that it began to command the respect of all people, who saw that despite certain "peculiarities" of the Quakers their morals and methods of life were beyond criticism.

The Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Gilbert Burnet, author of the "History of the Reformation," died about this time, and while not an active friend of the Quakers, he was extremely tolerant. He said on one occasion, "I will not deny but many of the dissenters were put to great hardships in many parts of England; I cannot deny it, and I am sure I will never justify it. And I will boldly say this, that if the Church of England, after she has got out of this storm will return to hearken to the peevishness of some sour men, she will be abandoned both of God and man, and will set both Heaven and earth against her."

In this year the Act of Toleration expired, and the Friends brought up the subject in Parliament, and it became effectual.

In thankfulness the Quakers addressed the king as follows:

"The Lord our God who, for the sake of his heritage hath, often hithertofore rebuked and limited the raging waves of the sea, hath, blessed be his name, mercifully dis-

persed the clouds threatening a storm, which lately seemed to hang over us; which, together with the favor that God hath given us in the eyes of the king and the government, for the free enjoyment of our religious and civil liberties, call for true thankfulness to him. And humbly to pray to Almighty God for the king and those in authority, for his and their safety and defense, is certainly our Christian duty, as well as to walk inoffensively as a grateful people."

The methods of the Quakers in keeping in touch with all their members in 1717 is interesting, illustrating, as it does, how complete and extraordinary a religious organization they had developed for the production of good men and women. The Catholic Church aimed at the same point in introducing the Confession of Sins as a part of their moral code. But the Quaker confessed to God in his silent meetings, and designed to keep the members of the Society so pure that they would have nothing to confess. The Quakers had various methods of reaching their members. Among them were the so-called epistles, issued by the yearly meetings, which were sent out and read at the various business meetings. The following is such a paper:

"The Epistle from the Yearly Meeting in London, held by adjournment, from the 10th day of the Fourth month, to the 14th of the same inclusive, 1717.

To the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of Friends in Great Britian, and elsewhere.

Our salutation in the love of Christ Jesus our blessed Lord, is freely extended unto you, whose tender care is over, and mercy to, this our annual assembly, we do humbly and thankfully acknowledge in the love, amity, tender condescension, and peaceable procedure thereof, with respect to the

divine power and good of the Lord our God, and the service of his church and people; sincerely desiring the prosperity of his whole heritage, even in all the Churches of Christ among us, in his dear love, unity and peace, to his eternal glory, and our universal comfort and perpetual joy in the kingdom of the dear Son of God.

We are truly comforted, in that we understand there is such a general concurrence and union among Friends, with our former earnest desires and counsel, for true and universal love, unity and peace and good order to be earnestly endeavored and maintained among us, as a peculiar people, chosen of the Lord, out of the world, to bear a faithful testimony to **His Holy Name** and truth, in all respects; and that all that is contrary be watched against and avoided; as strife, discord, contention, and disputes tending to divisions, may be utterly suppressed and laid aside, as the light and righteous judgment of truth require.

Oh! that all the churches and congregations of the faithful would be excited by the Spirit of the dear Son of God, fervently to pray for the prosperity of his church and people throughout the world, that **Zion** may more shine in the beauty of holiness, to the glory and praise of the **King of Glory**.

The friends and brethren come up from several quarterly meetings in this nation, have given a good account to this meeting of truth's prosperity, and that Friends are generally in love and unity one with another; and by several epistles, from friends of North Carolina, Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Barbadoes, **Holland**, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, which have been read in this meeting; as also by verbal accounts given by several friends that have lately

travelled in divers parts of America, and elsewhere, we have received comfortable accounts of the state of truth and Friends in those parts; by which we are encouraged to hope truth prevails in many places, and a concern grows upon Friends for the prosperity therof; and that there is an inclination in people to hear the truth declared.

By the accounts brought up this year, we find that Friends' offerings in England and Wales, amount to five thousand, two hundred and ninety pounds, and upwards, chiefly for tithes, priests' wages, and steeple-house rates; and that notwithstanding, there have been four Friends discharged the last year, there yet remain twenty Friends prisoners on these accounts.

We advise that a tender care remain upon Friends in all places, to be faithful in keeping up our christian testimony against tithes, as being fully persuaded, it is that whereunto God hath called his people in this our day; we, seeing by daily experience, that such as are not faithful therein, do thereby add to the sufferings of honest Friends, and hinder their own growth and prosperity in the most blessed truth.

As touching the education of Friends' children, for which this meeting hath often found a concern; we think it our duty to recommend unto you the necessity that there is of a care in preserving of them in plainness of speech and habit suitable to our holy profession; and also that no opportunity be omitted, nor any endeavor wanting, to instruct them in the principle of truth which we profess; that thereby they, being sensible of the operation thereof in themselves, may find, not only their spirits softened and tendered, fit to receive the impressions of the divine image, but may also thence find themselves under a necessity to appear clear in

the several branches of our Christian testimony. And as this will be most beneficial to them, being the fruits of conviction, so it is the most effectual way of propagating the suitable to our holy profession; and also that no opportunity be omitted, nor any endeavor wanting, to instruct them same throughout the churches of Christ. And there being times and seasons wherein their spirits are, more than at others, disposed to have those things impressed upon them; so we desire that all parents, and others concerned in the oversight of youth, might wait in the fear of God, to know themselves divinely qualified for that service, that in his wisdom they may make use of every such opportunity, which the Lord shall put into their hands. And we do hereby warn and advise Friends in all places to flee from every appearance of evil, and keep out of pride, and from following the vain fashions and customs of this world, as recommended in the Epistle, 1715.

And as we always found it our concern to recommend love, concord, and unity in the churches of Christ everywhere, so, as a means to effect the same, we earnestly desire that Friends, but more especially such as are concerned in meetings of business, do labor to know their own spirits subjected by the Spirit of Truth; that thereby being baptized into one body, they may be truly one in the foundation of their love and unity, and that therein they may all labor to find a nearness to each other in spirit; this being the true way to a thorough reconciliation; wherever there is, or may have been any difference of apprehension; thereby Friends will be preserved in that sweetness of spirit, that is, and will be the bond of true peace, throughout all the Churches of Christ.

And, dear Friends, the Friends of this meeting, to whom the inspection of the accounts was referred, made report, that having perused the same, they found the stock to be near expended; whereupon this meeting thinks it necessary to recommend unto you, that a general and free contribution be made in every county, and that what shall be thereupon collected, be sent up to the respective correspondents.

Finally, dear Friends and brethren, be careful to walk unblamable in love and peace among yourselves, and towards all men in Christian charity, and be humbly thankful to the Lord our most gracious God, for the favor he hath given us in the eyes of the king and civil government, in the peaceable enjoyment of our religious and Christian liberties among them; and the God of peace, we trust, will be with you to the end.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirits, Amen.

Signed in, and on the behalf, and by order of, this meeting,

By Benjamin Bealing."

During the reign of the Georges, there was little to attract attention to the Quakers, except that they became highly honored and respected members of society. In the reign of George II. membership with Friends was defined, and the Quakers became more and more pronounced as a sect. All children of members of the Society of Friends were born members and so remained. The emphasis placed upon worldly matters and attire by George Fox resulted gradually in the assuming of what was practically a uniform, as pronounced as that of his Lordship, the Bishop of London to-day. This was an amusing contretemps,

as it was diametrically opposed to what the Quakers originally desired. They first cut from their coats the buttons behind, because they appertained to swords, the turned over collar or cuff was a vanity and unnecessary. This left the coat with an upright collar, no colors were allowed, black, white or drab predominated. The dress of women was equally plain, and the delicate cap, the scoop bonnet became what was practically a uniform beautiful in its simplicity. That simplicity was enforced all the old records show. Barclay says: "In 1703, the young women came to York Quarterly Meeting in long cloaks and bonnets, and they were therefore not only ordered to take the advice of the elders of the particular church (i. e. Meeting) to which they belonged, before they came to 'these great Meetings here in York,' but in the minutes of one monthly meeting it was ordered that those young women who intended to go to York were to appear before their own meeting 'in those clothes that they intended to have on at York!'"

Committees were appointed to visit homes to see that the occupants lived up to the tenets of the meeting.*

The Society of Friends at this period in England and the colonies had produced a new type of men and women. Anyone who knew Friends could easily recognize them, as dignity, sweetness and purity of character was indelibly

*Footnote.—The author was a born member of the Lynn, Massachusetts, meeting, transferred to The New York meeting in 1872. He removed to California in 1885, but has never been transferred to a local meeting although twenty-seven years have passed. The members of his family, who formerly attended and are still members of the New York meeting, receive yearly an affectionate greeting from the New York meeting, showing that they are not forgotten. This is referred to, to show how careful the Friends are to follow and keep in touch with their people.

stamped upon their faces. They lived the lives they professed, they listened to no evil, they saw no evil, they spoke no evil. In all the observations relating to moral ethics there is nothing more remarkable than this evolution of a Quaker character and the production of men and women which bear the closest investigation, who, represent an ideal and eminently desirable citizenship. As Elizabeth Braithwaite Emmott says: "In the lives of these Friends a type of Quakerism was presented to the world somewhat different from that of the first period, but nevertheless of a rare beauty and strength,, combining perfect dignity of manner with wonderful simplicity and sweetness. Its power lay in absolute integrity of character, due to constant obedience to the inward Guide."

In 1779, Dr. Fothergill opened the Ackworth School for the children of the Friends, the first of a large number of such schools established in Great Britain and the Colonies, all of a high order and patronized by "Dissenters" as well as Friends, when the rules did not interfere. George the III., became interested in Quaker Schools and in their appeals for national education.

One result of the work of a Quaker, Joseph Lawrence, was the founding of the British and Foreign School Society. The Friends now took the greatest interest in charities and philanthropic work of all kinds; there was not a great movement for betterment in the Georgian period that was not aided and abetted by the Quakers. As the initial protestors against slavery, they stood with Wilburforce in 1807 in putting down the slave trade. Later Joseph Gurney, Joseph Sturge, and many English Friends, aided by their American colleagues, joined Sir T. F. Buxton and Thomas

Clarkson in fighting this system. Among the strong characters in the eighteenth century was John Woolman, who visited America in 1746, and became an earnest worker against slavery. His *Journal* is one of the most valued of Quaker character and the production of men and women and died in 1772, just previous to the War of American Independence. He will always be identified with the anti-slavery movement as carried on by Quakers. Whittier's poem, "The Quaker of the Olden Time," might well have had for its inspiration John Woolman, who, while he carried to extreme some of the more absurd inconsistencies of the Quakers, and was badly handicapped by them, left deep impression upon the history of his time for moral uplift.

A totally different type, more intellectual and representing in every way the refined and cultivated aristocratic type produced by Quakerism, was Elizabeth Fry, who gave the strong impetus to prison reform in the eighteenth century. Her father was a Friend, John Gurney, of Norwich, a banker and a "Quaker Gentleman." Her mother was a granddaughter of John Barclay, the author of "The Apology." The Gurneys were very cultivated people, who wisely eliminated the inconsistencies and non-essentials of Quakerism, and were, in a measure, responsible for shaping the general policy of Friends as found in England and New England to-day. A more beautiful woman than Elizabeth Fry it would be difficult to find, and garbed in the costume of the Friends, she was a radiant picture of dignity, culture and purity. Her reforms among prisons and prisoners became a life work.

Stephen Grellett, a distinguished figure in the Society, visited London prisons in 1813, and it was through his

means that Elizabeth Fry was interested in the work. She visited the jails and organized "An Association for the Improvement of the Female Prisoners in Newgate." Stephen Grellett thus describes the prison on his first visit: "When I first entered, the foulness of the air was almost insupportable, and everything that is base and depraved was so strongly depicted on the faces of the women who stood crowded before me, that for a while my soul was greatly dismayed; surely then did I witness that the Lord is a refuge and strength, his Truth is a shield and buckler. The more I beheld the awful consequences of sin, the more also I felt the love of Christ, who has come to save, and who had died for sinners. As I began to speak under the feeling sense of this redeeming love of Christ, their countenances began to alter; soon they hung down their heads; and tears in abundance were seen to flow.

I inquired of them if there were any other female prisoners in the place, and was told that several sick ones were upstairs. On going up, I was astonished beyond description at the mass of woe and misery I beheld. I found many very sick, lying on the bare floor or on some old straw, having very scanty covering over them, though it was quite cold; and there were several children born in the prison among them, almost naked." The change which followed the efforts of Elizabeth Fry is shown by the following description given by a visitor:

"The courtyard into which I was admitted instead of being peopled with beings scarcely human, presented a scene where stillness and propriety reigned. I was conducted by a decently dressed person, the newly appointed yards-woman, to the door of a ward, where, at the head of a long

table, sat a lady belonging to the Society of Friends. She was reading aloud to about sixteen women prisoners, who were engaged in needlework around it. Each wore a clean-looking blue apron and bib, with a ticket having a number on it suspended from her neck by a red tape. They all rose on my entrance, curtesied respectfully, and then at a given signal resumed their seats and employment." Elizabeth Fry stands as the embodiment of the best type of the Quaker, a replica of hundreds of women in England and America who lent dignity and charm to the Quaker Society.

In these passing years came the Independence of the Colonies, the French Revolution, the establishment of the Womens' Friends Yearly Meeting, the war with France, and the wars against France and Napoleon, 1803-15, the introduction of the great reform bill, in nearly all of which Quakers had a share or were influenced, and in 1833, the year before the Emancipation Act for slaves in the British colonies, the Quakers were admitted to Parliament, marking 1833 as a red letter year in Quaker History. In 1836 The Friends Education Society was founded, and the following year came the death of George III., and the accession of Victoria.

As may be imagined, the literary wits of a later time did not neglect the Quakers. Lady Mary Wortley Montague, who flourished during the time of Penn, often pierced them with her wit, and was as often reproached. In Butler's *Hudibras*, we read

"Quakers that like to lanterns bear
Their lights within 'em, will not swear."

And all the eccentricities of the Friends were seized upon and made the most of. They did not lack defenders, as

Charles Lamb wrote, "Get the writings of John Woolman by heart and love the early Quakers." The Earl of Errol doubted their sincerity and wrote, "The Quaker loyalty is a qualified loyalty, it smells of rebellion." Lord Chesterfield, of whom Horace Walpole said, "His writings were everybody's, that is, whatever came out good was given to him, and he was too humble to refuse the gift," was ever ready to display his sarcasm at the expense of the Quakers, who resented every aspect of his ill-spent life. Henry Fielding, "the prose Homer of human nature," gruff Samuel Johnson, Lord Lyttleton, David Hume, Sterne, Garrick, Horace Walpole, Smollett, all displayed their witticism at the expense of the Quakers. John Wilkes, famous for his jests not only on the Quakers, but the Testament, Goldsmith, whom Horace Walpole called "an Inspired Idiot," Edmund Burke, Sheridan, Chatterton and many more, scorned, loved, respected or hated the Quaker, who was encased in an armor of unconsciousness, from which their shafts of wit or venom glanced or fell. Of all the literary men of the early Quaker period, John Milton alone was truly in sympathy with them, due to his friendship with Ellwood.

In 1799 the Friends faced schism in their Society in Ireland. A number of Friends decided that they would submit the Bible and all things to the weight of reason. They were practically Unitarians, and rejected the idea that Christ was the Son of God, and considered that the story of the Garden of Eden and others, were allegorical. An American Friend, Hannah Barnard, now visited Ireland, and practically preached this doctrine. The Yearly Meeting of Dublin took up the matter, and instructed the various

monthly meetings to visit those who entertained these views, and "labor with Christian love and tenderness for their restoration." The Yearly Meeting also appointed a committee to visit the Quarterly and Monthly meetings to assist them with advice. The best men in the ministry were sent into Ireland to combat this heresy, and when the news reached America David Sands of New York and Richard Jordon of South Carolina visited the island and endeavored to stem the disaffection or "delusion," as they considered it. So great was the departure to Unitarianism that in Ulster many who had been ministers and elders were disowned.

Here again we see the singular superstition among Friends and practically the only one. Some of them firmly believed that such action was sure to be followed by Divine retribution. Thus William Hodgson says, "The hand of Divine Providence seemed to be turned in an awful manner against these deniers of the Divinity of the Lord Jesus; so that the predictions of Richard Jordon and others were remarkably verified. Some of them who had lived in affluence, experienced a sad reverse in their condition; many not only lost their religious reputation, but even suffered in their moral character, and became an astonishment to their former acquaintances. Others, however, awakened by timely warning, abandoned their errors, and through the mercy of a gracious Redeemer, came to experience repentance and forgiveness; these embraced the Christian religion in renewed faith and sincerity, and were restored into the fellowship of the church."

Long after peace had been declared between the Quakers and their many enemies in England they had many sad experiences in Ireland. This was in the latter part of the

eighteenth century (1798) during the reign of George IV. At this time, the Friends were well established in Ireland, particularly in the east, and as they would not fight with the government, nor would they take sides with the Papists and other insurgents, they became involved in all the horrors of the civil wars that devastated the country. The Friends antagonized the Irish by destroying all their fire-arms as a protest, or "sign" that it was wrong to go to war or to take human life. It soon became Papist against Protestant, and the Friends, as in the Civil War of America, cared for the wounded and turned their homes into asylums for the destitute and suffering, though many lost their homes. While there was much suffering from ungovernable mobs, the fact remains that all parties respected the Quakers, and when the Royal Army approached, Papists and others flocked to the homes of the Quakers, and begged for "Quaker coats" that they might be taken for the men who would not fight for conscience sake, and so be spared.

Even priests sought this masquerading. A Protestant minister near Enniscorthy tried to obtain a coat, but could not, and was later found murdered near the river, where he had tried to conceal himself from the Papist mob. Many instances in this civil war could be given to illustrate how well the Quakers were understood and respected. In one house a family of Quakers sat in prayer during a desperate battle in their street. When the Royal troops charged, the Quakers took an English Papist into their house, bandaged his wounds, and requested him to leave, which he did, knowing that by remaining he would bring death upon the innocent family. In a few moments a Royalist trooper came to the door and demanded if they had any Papists



OLD FRIENDS MEETING HOUSES

Exeter (1724) Upper

Milverton (1780)



OLD ENGLISH MEETING HOUSES
Chiltenham (Upper)
Worcester

within. The woman of the house replied no. At this some of the men wished to search the place, but the officer stopped them, "You are but wasting time, there is no one here. These people are Quakers, and they would not lie or deceive to save their lives." In all this war, frightful in its excesses, it is said that but one Quaker was killed, although the towns and villages were wrecked and the streets filled with dead.

CHAPTER XI.

THE VICTORIAN PERIOD AND LATER TIMES.

1837-1912.

The Quaker invasion of England while it is yet too soon to estimate its just value in the evolution of the nation, exerted a marked effect on the morals of the people. It chastened the culture of this great nation; it mellowed the national moral sense, and from being a despised and hated people in the time of James and Charles the Quaker became a type of all that was honored and respected. The London University was founded in 1836, the year the Friends established the Educational Society. Then came the Repeal of the Corn Laws, in which the Friends had a large share, and in 1847 they established the Association of the First Day School.

In 1866 non-conformists were admitted to Oxford and Cambridge, and the Friends established their Foreign Mission Societies, and in 1870 they were active in forming the National System of Elementary Education. If the great movements for education, philanthropy, prison reform and charities at large are examined critically, it will be found that many were instigated or suggested by Friends, who aided in carrying on the work, and who resented publicity, as did Elizabeth Fry when she revolutionized prison methods in England and personally went to prison ships with women convicts and bade them farewell with hope in their hearts.

While the Society became more or less dormant after the

death of Fox, Penn, and other great leaders, a reaction from the years of terror, there came in the nineteenth century in England a distinct revival of interest, as there is today in the twentieth century, when the Friends are increasing in England.

The Emancipation Act was passed in 1833, and Joseph Sturge, Thomas Harvey, and others made the trip to the West Indies. As a result of their investigations a resolution was introduced in the House of Commons, "that negro apprenticeship in the British Colonies should cease." This was carried by three votes. Sir Thomas F. Buxton, writes, "The intelligence was received with such a shout by the Quakers (myself among the number) that we were all turned out for rioting. I am right glad."

The Friends now took up a campaign for betterment all along the line. They established temperance societies in the face of intense opposition. The distress and poverty in England appealed to them; they made a careful study of the situation, and came to the conclusion that the cure was Free Trade. The Friends previous to the time of Victoria, or in 1833, had been kept out of Parliament by their refusal to take the oath, but now Joseph Pease, a Friend, was returned from South Durham on making an affirmation instead of the oath. This was a notable victory and was followed by the entrance of many Friends into active political life, foremost being John Bright, a Quaker, who led the great fight in Parliament in 1843, with Richard Cobden, for cheap bread for the people, securing the repeal of the Corn Laws—one of the great Quaker victories of the nineteenth century. The Friends made themselves especially felt in investigations into the conditions of the insane, and opened

the York Retreat, which was the first rational attempt in England toward radical reform in this direction. Some idea of the activities of the modern Friend is shown by the committees which report to the Yearly Meeting in London:

Home Missions and Extension Committee. Central Education Committee. Peace Committee. Anti-Slavery Committee. Anti-opium Committee. Friends' Tract Association. Friends' First-day School Association, (including Adult Schools.) Friends' Foreign Mission Association. Friends' Temperance Union.

Henry Stanley Newman says in "The Friend," 27th, 12 mo., 1907, "The more carefully we study the last half-century of Quakerism, the greater appears the advance in Christian activity. Anyone who carefully reads the account of London Yearly Meeting in the issues of 'The Friend' fifty years ago, will, we think, conclude that the way was then being faithfully prepared for the enlargement and progress that have happily taken place. In 1857, Joseph Thorp, Robert Forster, and Robert Charleton sat as Clerks at our Yearly Meeting in London, James Backhouse, Benjamin Seebohm, John Pease, and Joseph Pease, Peter Bedford, Grover Kemp, Daniel P. Hack, Josiah Forster, Joseph Sturge, and Samuel Bowly were active in religious services during the various sessions. In 1857, Bristol and York made a definite stand for Adult Schools which was rapidly followed in the next three or four years in many other Friendly centres, William White moving about among Friends with his racy narratives of experiences in Mens' Classes, and their encouraging results."

Among the notable works of the modern Quaker is the Adult School Movement. Joseph Sturge really started

the movement in Birmingham, the following handbill being issued:

"A School is intended to be held on First-day (Sunday) evenings, from six to eight o'clock, at the British School Rooms in Severn Street, chiefly for the purpose of affording instruction in reading the scriptures, and in writing, to youths and young men from fourteen years of age and upwards, who are invited to attend. The school to commence on the 12th of tenth month, 1845."

This movement grew until it assumed an international importance; other nations, taking it up, and to-day in England it has over one thousand schools and one hundred thousand members among both sexes.

The attitude of the Friends to poverty is well illustrated by a paper read by B. S. Rowntree at the 1907 Yearly Meeting in London; "Why should we not have some such query as this: 'Is the condition of the poor around you a matter of Christian solicitude on your part? Do you bear in mind that it must be contrary to the will of our Father in Heaven that any of His children should be placed in circumstances, that must inevitably arrest the development of their higher nature, and are you taking your right share in social service?' Such a query," he tells us, "would be but the modern echo of the fundamental portion of the message of our early Friends. George Fox, placed in Derby House of Correction, devoted a portion of the time spent there to the study of the social condition of the town, and the state of the prisons and prisoners. In 1658, he exhorted the Protector and the Parliament to do away with beggars, saying that 'want brought people to steal,' and that those who were rich should provide some employment for the poor or keep

them out of temptation. He went on to suggest a Government Register of Employers requiring labour, and a workman out of employ in every market town. In the same year Fox appealed for the prohibition of more public houses than were necessary for genuine travellers. He persistently declaimed in fairs and at market crosses against cheating and cozzening in trade."

The care of their own poor among Quakers is a remarkable instance of their method. One would live a long time among Quakers before he found any poor or indigent. I have never seen or heard of a Quaker pauper, though a birth-right member and living in a large Quaker community and in a city where the Quakers were represented by a large meeting. The reason was that the Quakers cared for their poor. Until I was well grown I supposed that a certain beautiful and cultivated old lady, who lived in a relative's family, was a kinswoman. She was a Quaker who had lost all and was thus cared for, boarded and clothed, and treated as a guest or as one of the family; no one knew that she was an object of charity. This concealing the misfortunes of their friends or protecting them has created the impression among many that the Quakers are inordinately rich.

George Newman gives an idea of the duties of an English Friend: "England's great contribution to the world has not been books or navies, but Ideals. And we who are Quakers, it is not for us as a Society to administer the Empire, to legislate for communities, to redistribute land or wealth. It is for us, and I press it as a great duty laid upon us, it is for us to raise in a materialistic age the ideals of social reform. More than external environment, more than

administration of law, is the force of ideals—ideals of the Kingdom of Home, of Motherhood, of Self-control, of Justice and of Stewardship. It is for us to lift the eyes of our countrymen to the glory which is to be, to make dreams and visions possible, to teach that social responsibility rests upon us all, and that personal service is a debt which all must pay.”

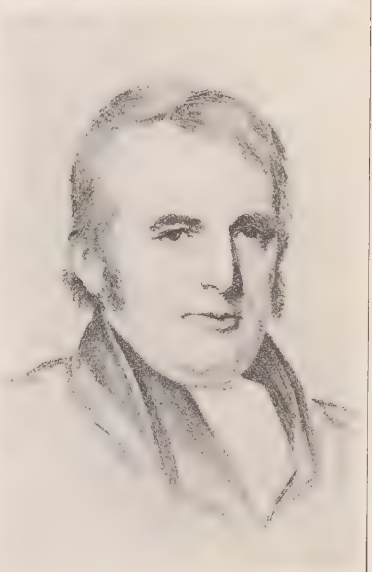
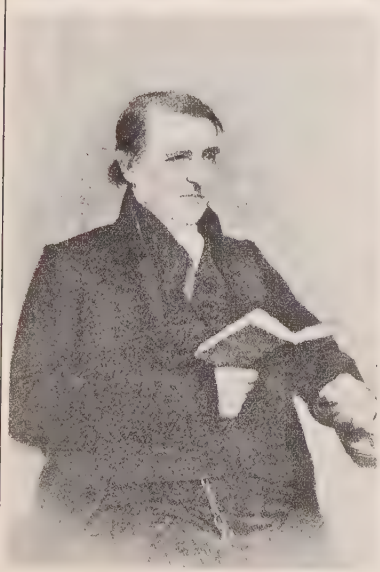
From this it must not be deemed that Friends do not “administer the empire” as, if their full influence could be summed up, it could be shown that their influence in politics has been potential. John Bright was one of the greatest administrators of the empire England has ever had; he stands as a milestone in the advancement of this the greatest of the world’s nations. I met in England, at the home of Professor Sylvanus Thompson, Mr. Edmund Harvey, now representing the English Friends in Parliament. He is “administering the empire” and devoting his life to the great charities and philanthropies in which he is interested.

In previous chapters, it will be noticed that early in the contest for spiritual life and entity, the Friends spread abroad and carried their message to nearly every land. A minute of the General Meeting at Skipton, 1660, shows what was done at this early day: “We have received certain information from some Friends in London of the great work and service of the Lord beyond the seas, in several parts and regions, as Germany, America, Virginia, and many other places, as Florence, Mantua, Palatine, Tuscany, Italy, Rome, Turkey, Jerusalem, France, Geneva, Norway, Barbadoes, Bermuda, Antigua, Jamaica, Surinam, Newfoundland, through all which Friends have passed in the service of the Lord, and divers other places, countries,

islands and nations, and over and among many nations of the Indians, in which they have had service for the Lord and have published His name and declared the everlasting Gospel of peace unto them that have been afar off, that they might be brought nigh unto God."

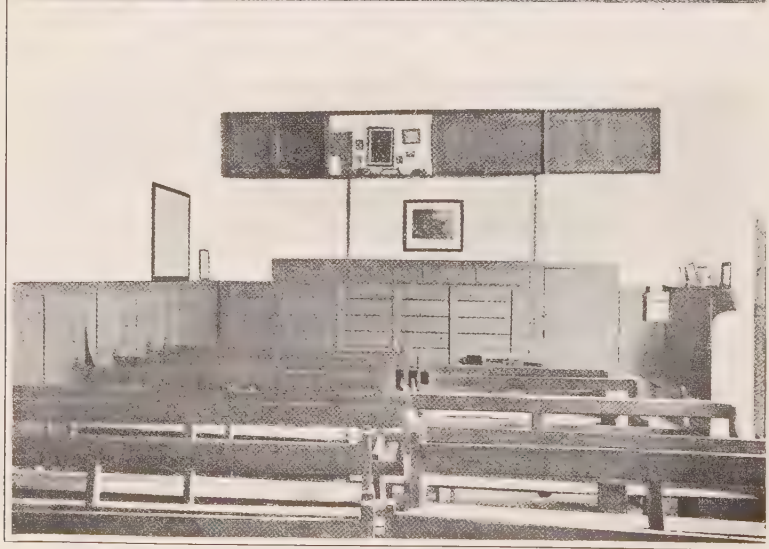
If visiting ministers could not pay their way, the meeting provided the "third" as the expense was termed, and sent them. E. B. Emmott tells the story of Quaker energies in the direction of India, Madagascar, Syria, China and Ceylon. The work of William Penn is referred to elsewhere, but his motive in going to America was to aid the American Indians, and the Quaker treatment of them up to 1912 is a reproach to all other governments and peoples. Their ministers penetrated to extraordinary lands and places. Mary Fisher visited the Sultan Mahomet IV. in 1660, and Stephen Grellet, James Backhouse, Joseph John Gurney, Daniel Wheeler and others travelled to many lands. Daniel Wheeler's life work which ended in New York in 1840 reads like a romance. A sailor, soldier, serving in Flanders in 1794, converted at sea, he became a Friend in Sheffield, and in 1816 became a minister. He was now invited to Russia by the Emperor to introduce the English method of farming. This accomplished, he visited the South Sea Islands, preaching, and the remainder of his life was spent in continual Christian endeavor.

Joseph Sturge, previously referred to, was an equally valuable unit in this organization for betterment in England. His chief work was for peace and the emancipation of slavery. The Peace Society was founded in 1816, following the Battle of Waterloo, by Joseph Tregelles Price, William Allen and others, and in 1818 Sturge organized



REPRESENTATIVE ENGLISH FRIENDS

*Isaac Braithwaite, Daniel Wheeler, Joseph Bevan Braithwaite,
Joseph Sturge*



JORDAN'S MEETING HOUSE AND INTERIOR

an auxillary of the Society in Worcester, and from then until the day of his death in 1869, he worked for peace or arbitration. He was a protestant at the Chinese war, 1839. He addressed a peace conference in Boston in 1841, and was a delegate to many peace conferences in London, Germany, France and America. In 1858 he was chosen President of the Peace Society. His work against slavery was equally important and he was a factor in the Act passed in 1834 which abolished slavery in the West Indies. In 1839 he founded The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and in 1840 the convention was held with five hundred delegates present, presided over by Thomas Clarkson.

In 1841 Sturge visited America to investigate slavery and met Whittier, the American poet. A volume might be written on the lives of these British Quakers, of the early and late Victorian period, who devoted themselves to the cause of humanity and the effort to make their country first morally as well as a world power. Dr. William Wilson, missionary and organizer, stands out in strong relief from 1866 to 1909 for his remarkable work in Madagascar, Ceylon, Syria and India, Joseph Bevan Braithwaite, as well known in America as in England, was a striking figure among the English Friends of the Victorian era. He began his ministry in 1844 and travelled practically all over the world, preaching and teaching. The telepathic faculty, if one may so term it, so often noticed in Friends, was illustrated in Joseph Bevan Braithwaite, when he was riding with the son of Charles F. Coffin, a well known American Friend. After a service at the Indiana Yearly Meeting, with his friends, George Tatham, Mayor of Leeds, and Richard Littleboy, an English banker, Braithwaite ex-

pressed a "concern"; namely, a strong inclination to ride, and they were taken to New Garden by Mr. Coffin. Near the toll gate the minister said, "Charles, I feel a call to some one in that house." Coffin repeated this to the woman who came to collect the toll: "This Friend feels a concern towards someone here." She at once replied that her husband was very ill, and would be glad to see him, so they all went into the house and held a short service, most acceptable to the invalid, who, it is said, had the "feeling that a messenger had come to him from above."

The peculiar "sense" of the Friends by which they had "concerns," is an interesting subject for the psychologist. Many of the ministers who suddenly decided to leave home and travel were instigated by this "concern"; in other words, they felt a strong demand upon them that they should go to certain places. This was seriously presented to the meeting, and if favorably acted upon, the meeting would give the minister a letter of recommendation, and defray all or a part of his expenses.

Two English Friends, Caroline E. Talbot and Elizabeth Comstock, both living in America, who were very often influenced in this way, were well known to me. I once accompanied the latter on a "concern" to the prison at Baltimore, where she preached to the prisoners and swayed a vast audience in a miraculous manner. These ministers were noted for strange and interesting happenings or experiences; the result of "concerns" which formed a happy part of their lives, and due to which they were able to accomplish much good.

Mention of the dominant figures in the Friends' Society of England would not be complete with-

out reference to Isaac Sharp, who spent his life in visiting "widely scattered communities of Friends." The Society of Friends in England has not increased as rapidly in numbers as in some other localities, but few sects have made themselves felt more in the general uplift; and one does not need to visit the Westminster or other meetings in London to know that no people stand higher, or exercise a stronger influence than the Friends, whose word is, in the transaction of business, as good as a bond.

There is at the present time, 1913, a decided increase in interest among Friends, and they number in all about one hundred and thirty-five thousand, as follows:

London yearly meeting, including Australia general meeting	19,700
Dublin Yearly Meeting.....	2,500
Members at foreign stations, etc.....	2,800
Europe, South Africa	300
American Yearly Meetings.....	95,500
American foreign stations.....	3,700
Wilburite	12,000
	135,000

London may be considered the central point of interest of the Society, as at Devonshire House, there is a treasure house of historical data relating to the history of the Friends, collected by Isaac Sharp and Norman Penney, members of the Society, whose influence in the Society is strong, virile and enduring, and to whom all American visiting Friends will have a high appreciation.

In the year 1680 the first systematic efforts were made according to Norman Penny, the distinguished librarian

of Devonshire House, to collect historical data relating to the Friends. This was thirty years after George Fox began his work. In 1704 "Directions to collect matters for a general History of the Entrance and Progress of Truth in this age, by way of Annals" was made, but it was not until that active, reliable work was begun in the way of securing data; and in 1907 Devonshire House issued its first volume of "The First Publishers of Truth," which relates to many old manuscripts which have long been held in the strong room.

Among the many Friends who did yoeman service in the Victorian Era are, George Richardson of Newcastle-on-Tyne, deeply interested in foreign missions, Rachel Metcalf, whose work in Indian schools has been of great value, the Friends having a district in India as large as Scotland, about five hundred miles east of Bombay. One recalls David Jones and Thomas Bevan when thinking of Madagascar, Joseph S. Sewell, Louis and Sarah Street, and in 1867, Helen Gilpin. These Friends had over two hundred thousand natives under their care and a district as large as Middlesex, Essex and Hertfordshire. Robert J. and Mary J. Davidson carry on the Friends mission work in West China, and the English Friends have constantly fought the opium curse of China.

"Take away your opium," said a Chinaman to an English Missionary, and "Then we will be ready to talk about your Ya Su (Jesus)," a sentence that speaks with the volume of a thousand conferences and conventions. In 1896 Joseph and Francis J. Malcomson began work in the mission field of Ceylon, and to-day eleven Friends and sixty natives are working for the moral uplift. The

Friends' Foreign Missionary Association in the fullness of its work alone is a sufficient apology, if one were demanded, for the English Invasion of Quakers in the Seventeenth Century, and it should be emphasized that the work of Friends is not to be expressed by their numerical strength.

There are five great "fields" of work of the F. F. M. A.: India, Syria, (in which Sybil and Eli Jones labored so faithfully), Madagascar, China and Ceylon. Besides these centres, work is done in France, Japan, Constantinople, Armenia, Pemba and other places. Work of intense interest and value, as shown by the 1907 annual report of the Association "Our Missions." A strong and helpful association is The Missionaries Helpers Union, founded in 1883 by Ellen Barclay, which now has two hundred and sixty-three branches. In the world at large one hears but little of the work of English Friends because the innate modesty which found its first expression in 1650, "let not thy right hand," etc. still holds; but the Friends have suggested many of the most important religious works in England. They do not advertise their good deeds, and often unknown and unheralded, stand behind other societies with financial and other aid; in a word, it is not credit but results they aim at. The outlook of the Friends in England is distinctly encouraging. The London Yearly Meeting includes England, Scotland, Wales and Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. Ireland has in Dublin a strong half yearly meeting, which was established in 1670 and has continued without break since 1793.

Reference has been made to the methods of the Friends in securing in perpetuity the near to perfection moral tone of its people, which is the most extraordinary feature of its

corporate body. Eternal vigilance has been the rule. The mere suspicion of evil or digression from the standard is noted, and if the offending party cannot conform to the standard after repeated conferences, as a last resort, he or she is "disowned." By elimination and jurisdiction, then, the Society of Friends has produced this extraordinary body, so strong a factor in the moral uplift of England. To come to the actual methods of these people, the *modus operandi* of spiritual purification, or the method of not only being good but of keeping good, we see it in the time-honored system of "Queries," which are an everpresent feature of all meetings. The following are Queries issued by the English Friends Meeting, and read by the clerk to the assemblage.

1st. What is the religious state of your Meeting? Are you, individually, giving evidence of true conversion of heart, and of loving devotedness to Christ?

2nd. Are your Meetings for worship regularly held; and how are they attended? Are they occasions of religious solemnity and edification, in which, through Christ, our ever-living High Priest and Intercessor, the Father, is worshiped in Spirit and in truth?

3rd. Do you "walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us?" Do you cherish a forgiving spirit? Are you careful of the reputation of others; and do you avoid and discourage tale-bearing and detraction?

4th. Are you individually frequent in reading, and diligent in meditating upon the Holy Scriptures? Are parents and heads of households in the practice of reading them in their families in a devotional spirit, encouraging any right utterance of prayer or praise?

5th. Are you in the practice of private retirement and waiting upon the Lord; in everything by prayer and supplication, making your requests known unto him? And do you live in habitual dependence upon the help and guidance of the Holy Spirit?

6th. Do you maintain a religious life and conversation as becometh the Gospel? Are you watchful against conformity to the world; against the love of ease and self-indulgence; or being unduly absorbed by your outward concerns to the hindrance of your religious progress and your service for Christ? And do those who have children or others under their care endeavor, by example and precept, to train them up as self-denying followers of the Lord Jesus?

7th. Do you maintain a faithful allegiance to the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ as the one Head of the Church, and the Shepherd and Bishop of souls, from whom alone must come the true call for qualification and ministry of the world? And are you faithful in your testimony to the freeness and spirituality of the Gospel dispensation?

8th. Are you faithful in maintaining our Christian testimony against all war, as inconsistent with the precepts and spirit of the Gospel?

9th. Do you maintain strict integrity in all your transactions in trade, and in your other outward concerns? And are you careful not to defraud the public revenue?

10th. Are your meetings for Church affairs regularly held, and how are they attended? Are these Meetings vigilant in the discharge of their duties toward their subordinate Meetings, and in watching over the flock in the love of Christ? When delinquencies occur, are they treated timely, impartially, and in a Christian spirit? And do you,

individually, take your right share in the attendance and service of these Meetings?

11th. Do you, as a Church, exercise a loving and watchful care over the young people in your different congregations; promoting their instruction in fundamental Christian truth and in the Scriptural grounds of our religious principles; and manifesting an earnest desire that, through the power of Divine grace, they may all become established in the faith and hope of the Gospel?

12th. Do you fulfill your part as a Church, and as individuals, in promoting the cause of truth and righteousness, and the spread of the Redeemer's Kingdom at home and abroad?"

The following are general advices addressed by the English Meeting to "our members" and to all who meet with us in public worship: "Take heed, dear Friends, we entreat you, to the conviction of the Holy Spirit, who leads, through unfeigned repentance, and living faith in the Son of God, to reconciliation with our Heavenly Father, and to the blessed hope of eternal life, purchased for us by the one offering of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

"Be earnestly concerned in religious meetings reverently to present yourselves before the Lord; and seek, by the help of the Holy Spirit, to worship God through Jesus Christ.

"Prize the privilege of access to Him unto the Father. Continue instant in prayer, and watch in the same with thanksgiving.

"Be in frequent practice of waiting upon the Lord in private retirement, honestly examining yourselves as to your growth in grace, and your preparation for the life to come.

“Be diligent in the private perusal of the Holy Scriptures; and let the daily reading of them in your families be devoutly conducted.

“Be careful to make a profitable and religious use of those portions of time on the first day of the week, which are not occupied by our Meetings for Worship.

“Live in love as Christian brethren, ready to be helpful one to another, and sympathizing with each other in the trials and afflictions of life. Watch over one another for good, manifesting an earnest desire that each may possess a well-grounded hope in Christ.

“Follow peace with all men, desiring true happiness of all. Be kind and liberal to the poor; and endeavor to promote the temporal, moral, and religious well-being of your fellowmen.

“With a tender conscience, in accordance with the precepts of the Gospel, take heed to the limitations of the Spirit of Truth in the pursuit of the things of this life.

“Maintain strict integrity in your transactions in trade, and in all your outward concerns. Guard against the spirit of speculation, and the snare of accumulating wealth. Remember that we must account for the mode of acquiring, as well as for the manner of using, and finally disposing of, your possessions.

“Observe simplicity and moderation in your deportment and attire, in the furniture in your houses, and in your style and manner of living. Carefully maintain in your own conduct, and encourage in your families, truthfulness and sincerity; and avoid worldliness in all its forms.

“Guard watchfully against the introduction into your households of publications of a hurtful tendency! and

against such companionships, indulgences, and recreations, whether for yourselves or your children, as may in any wise interfere with a growth of grace.

“Avoid and discourage every kind of betting and gambling, and such speculation in commercial life as partakes of a gambling character.

“In view of the manifold evils arising from the use of intoxicating liquors, prayerfully consider whether your duty to God and to your neighbor does not require you to abstain from using them yourselves or offering them to others, and from having any share in their manufacture or sale.

“Let the poor of this world remember that it is our Heavenly Father’s will that all His children should be rich in faith. Let your lights shine in lives of honest industry, and patient love. Do your utmost to maintain yourselves and your families in an honourable position, and, by prudent care in time of health, to provide for sickness and old age, holding fast by the promise, ‘I will never leave thee nor forsake thee.’

“In contemplating the engagement of marriage, look principally to that which will help you on your heavenward journey. Pay filial regard to the judgment of your parents. Bear in mind the vast importance, in such a union, of an accordance in religious principles and practice. Ask counsel of God; desiring, above all temporal considerations, that your union may be owned and blessed of Him.

“Watch with Christian tenderness over the opening minds of your children; inure them to habits of self-restraint and filial obedience; carefully instruct them in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures; and seek for ability to imbue their

hearts with the love of their Heavenly Father, their Redeemer, and Sanctifier.

“Finally, dear Friends, let your whole conduct and conversation be such as become the Gospel. Exercise yourselves to have always a conscience void of offense toward God and toward men. Be steadfast and faithful in your allegiance and service to your Lord; continue in his love; endeavoring to ‘keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace’.”

It is the following of such precepts, the reiteration of these Queries, and the insistence of committees and fellow members that has built up and produced the Society of Friends in England, a dominant spiritual, civic and political force, that has aided in making England what it is, a leading Christian nation of the world.

The Quakers have been so modest and retiring that few of their deeds have reached the world at large. We hear much of their so-called peculiarities, their silent meetings, their “thee” and “thou”; but how many persons know that the Quaker, Edmund Pease of Darlington, financed and made possible the first railway line in England, the one between Stockton and Darlington. His clear, working mind saw the inestimable advantages to mankind, and in the face of much quiet sarcasm from the business men of the time, he came to the front. The fine midland system was the work of Friend Ellis of Leicester. The first railway guide was invented or conceived by a Quaker named Bradshaw, while another Quaker, quick to perceive that the method of “booking” was cumbersome, invented the railway ticket and the machine for stamping it. Some of the largest importers of England have been Quakers. The cocoa

trade was organized by the Cadburys of Birmingham, the Frys of Bristol and Rowntrees of York. It was a Quaker named Bryant who conceived the idea of the modern match. One day he dipped a sliver of wood into phosphorus, scratched it, and presto! the modern match came into use, and with the man to whom he first showed it, a Quaker named May, he began manufacturing. Bryant and May held a large place in the economic honor list of the world's little known industrial celebrities. It was a Quaker (Rickett) who made a fortune by discovering that a certain blue would give an attractive color to white cloths when being laundered. It is the small things which often produce the greatest results. Elizabeth Fry, by visiting felons and trying quietly to alleviate their condition, started prison reform.

Among Elizabeth Fry's descendants are Sir Theodore Fry, well known for his philanthropy and interest in the great economic questions underlying good government. He is the head of the great iron manufacturing firm of Theodore Fry & Company, Limited; the famous ex-judge of the Appeal Court, Sir Edward Fry, and the member of Parliament for the Northern Division of Bristol, Mr. Louis Fry, are also descendants of this distinguished and beautiful woman, whose influence is still active and whose memory is honored wherever the English language is spoken.

Many Quaker families in England used little round cakes, and thinking the world at large would be interested, one of their number named Palmer began the manufactory of crackers at Redding, and the great manufacturing firm of Huntley & Palmer became famous. On the banks of the Thames stands the famous Cleopatra's Needle. When



ELIZABETH FRY
Founder of "Prison Reform"



Gulielma Penn

the subject of bringing it from Alexandria, Egypt, was first suggested, it was considered impossible. Indeed, it was hinted that the Khedive had given it to England believing that the British with all their cleverness could not carry it off. Numbers of engineers were consulted, but the deed was finally accomplished by two English Quaker engineers. A Friend named Tange lifted it and brought it to England, where another Quaker engineer by the name of Dixie, poised it accurately on its pedestal. There is hardly a great institution in trade in the empire that has not been elevated, dignified, or improved by the Quakers. The marvelous banking system of Great Britain owes its influence and stability, its very existence, to the Quakers, Gurney & Company, Oberend, Barclay, Bevan & Company. The founder of the latter house is a lineal descendant of Robert Barclay, so often referred to in this volume, whom Whittier, the American poet immortalized as The Laird of Ury. Lord Lister, who discovered anti-septic surgery, and for whom Listerine and various anti-septics are named, was a plain Friend, who indirectly saved thousands of lives by his simple attempts to alleviate the sufferings of patients in the hospitals. Another Friend, Dr. Birkbeck, founded the first Mechanics Institute. Neal Dow, the temperance reformer, was an English Friend. William Edward Forster, Quaker, was the founder of the Education Acts that have been productive of widespread good.

During a ride along the Riviera in 1911 I crossed the Italian line, and heard that a Quaker had made one of the most beautiful gardens in the world on the shores of the Mediterranean. A day was spent in the grounds of Mortola, enjoying its radiant vistas, its long reaches of verdure,

its trees, shrubs and plants from every clime, backed against the splendid blue of the Mediterranean.

This was Mortola, the Italian home of the Marquis of Mortola, once Sir Thomas Hanbury, famous as a Quaker botanist and chemist. A small entrance fee was charged for the benefit of local charities, and the beautiful estate an inspiration in every sense, was practically open to the world. Thomas Lawson, a friend of William Penn, was also a well known botanist. He refers to his work in the following letter to Sir John Rodes:

“Greatstrickland, 18 of mo. —90.

My Friend:—

Though unknown by face, yet hearing several months ago, that thou was tinctur'd with inclination after the knowledge of plants, the products of the earth, I am induc'd to write these lines unto thee. Severall years I have been concern'd in schooling, yet, as troubles attended me for Nonconformity, I made it my business to search most countries and corners of this land, with severall of promonteries, islands, and peninsulas thereof, in order to observe the variety of plants there described or nondescripts, as, also, Monuments, Antiquities, Memorable things, whereby I came to be acquainted with most of the Lovers of Botany and of other rarities of the Royal Society and others, in this Kingdom and other places.

Now some years ago, George Fox, William Penn, and others were concerned to purchase a piece of land near London for the use of a Garden Schoolhouse and a dwelling-house for the Master, in which garden, one or two or more of each sorte of our English plants were to be planted, as also many outlandish plants. My purpose was to write a

book on these in Latin, so as a boy had the description of these in book-lessons, and their virtues, he might see these growing in the garden, or plantation, to gaine the knowledge of them; but persecutions and troubles obstructed the prosecution hereof, which the Master of Christ's College in Cambridge hearing of, told me was a noble and honourable undertaking, and would fill the Nation with philosophers. Adam and his posterity, if the primitive originall station had been kept, had had no book to mind, but God himself, the book of life, and the book of the Creation, and they that grow up in the knowledge of the Lord and his Creation, they are the true philosophers. Solomon wrote from the Cedar of Lebanon to the hysop upon the wall; the works of the Lord, saith the holy man, are wonderful, sought out by those that have a pleasure therein, his Work within and his Works without, even the least of plants preaches forth the power and the wisdom of the Creator, and, ey'd in the sparke of eternity, humbles man.

Now, if thou have an inclination after these things, and dost conclude the knowledge of them usefull, I could willingly abandon my employ of schooling here, and, being with thee, lay out myselfe for thy improvement in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; and for the knowledge of plants, and without any great charge, could bring in 2 or 3 of the most parte or of all the trees and shrubs and plants in England, into a plot of ground for that purpose prepared, and many outlandish plants also.

And if thou would incline to the propagating of wood, we might prepare a nourcery (nursery), where seeds being sown, and young plants set to grow till fit to be removed into other grounds—a work in no ways dishonourable, but very useful and profitable.

I have not much more to write, but unfeignedly to acquaint thee that want of employ or beneficial place is not the *primum mobile*, as I may say, which, if I were there, I could satisfy thee herein.

I purpose also, (if the Lord please,) to put forth an Herbal specialty of English plants. I am also pretty forward with a piece I call *Flosculi Brittannie*, given in Lat. a description of every country in England, the principal products of each county, why Cities, Towns, Rivers are called as they are called, and of the Antiquities, monuments, memorable occurrences, tropical plants of each county, in reading of which a scholar not only improves in the language but can give an account of the nation, as if he had travel'd it through.

No more, but unfeign'd love to thee and to thy Mother to whom I desire thee to show this, and I desire a few lines shortly from thee, Thy truly Lo. ffrd,

Tho. Lawson."*

The farmer is indebted to a Quaker, Ransome, of Ipswich, for the first chilled plough, the manufacture of which became an important business, employing hundreds of men. The vast foundries at Coalbrookdale, England, well known during at least three generations, were founded by a Quaker named Abraham, who brought over the secret of casting iron from Holland.

Many of the greatest names in England have come from Quaker ancestors or have family ties with them. London

*I am indebted to Mrs. Godfrey Locker Lampson, author of "A Quaker Post Bag," published by Longmans Green & Co., for permission to copy this and the foregoing letter from William Penn to Sir John Rodes.

has had at least two Quaker lord mayors, Sir Robert Fowler, of Quaker family, having served twice. Sir Walter Scott had Quaker blood in his veins. Lord Macaulay, the historian, was a descendant of Quakers, his mother being one. The decipherer of the Egyptian Cuneiform Inscriptions was a Quaker, Sir Henry Rawlinson. Modern shipbuilding owes much to the Quakers. The first large shipbuilder in America was the author's second great grandfather Daniel Holder, a Quaker, (1750), of Nantucket. The splendid trans-oceanic service to-day accomplished by the Cunards, is due to the Quaker, Sir Samuel Cunard, who founded Atlantic steam navigation. Examinations into the dominant influences and personalities in every department of life discovers a Quaker or some one of Quaker descent. In law, Lord Lyndhurst; engineering, Bolton, who made the Watt engine practical. Dr. Tregellis, the Biblical student; the tutor of King Edward, Dr. Birch; and in philanthropy Sir T. Fowell. Among modern scientists we have Professor Sylvanus Thompson. Indeed, if mere mention of the names of Friends of distinction was made, the list would be long and suggestive. They set an example to the world for pure, clean business and living, and that they had a pre-eminently practical side of inestimable value to the world, is more than evidenced.

CHAPTER XII.

THE EVOLUTION OF ORGANIZATION.

In the review of the political and religious evolution of the English Friends or Quakers it will have been observed that the primal or original intention of George Fox was not to organize a Society, to form a church, or to collect about him a band of followers. In plain words, he was keenly alive to the immorality of the times, the tendency to sensuous life and living, and felt called upon to rebuke it. This call, "concern," urgent conscientiousness, unrest, call it what you will, was believed by him to be the voice of God, speaking to him and urging him on to rebuke the existent condition of things. He obeyed it. Followers accumulated, and the demand for organization came as a natural sequence or effect of the dominant cause of Quakerism. The evolution of the Society has been sketched side by side with the political events in England, which affected it, but I refer now to the assumption of shape and form of the meeting.

The first meetings were in private houses, as at Judge Fell's and others, but when organization was attempted they followed the general plan of simplicity which characterized all the life of the Friends. The policy was to do away with paid ministry, with all form, yet it was evident that some distinctive organization and head or responsible members would have to have a place, and we find instead of Bishops, presbyteries and deacons which held in the nonconformist churches, they had ministers, elders and over-seers. In a word, these three individualities were found to be insistent.

and forced themselves on the Society, or could not be avoided. These terms held at the close of the eighteenth century, but Robert Barclay claimed that in the seventeenth century an elder was an "acknowledged minister." The typical English meeting was a plainly furnished room with one "high seat," and usually a "facing seat" below the former. In the middle of the nineteenth century the "elders," at least in America, sat there, while the ministers who habitually spoke occupied the "high seat," the women on one side, the men on the other. Later, in more elaborate meetings there were rooms for the business meetings of men or women; or the meeting house could be divided with doors or partitions. Many of the old meeting houses are now in use in England, and attractive in their primitive simplicity.

What organization there was at first came about as a result of Friends endeavoring to help their companions in jails. It was necessary to have some system, some organization to carry on this work thoroughly. In 1653 the Friends of Durham held a monthly meeting, and in the business transacted here they decided that "some of every meeting" should meet "every first seventh day of each month." Swarthmore Meeting at the home of Judge Fell soon adopted this, and very deliberately, and in the face of some opposition, it became the custom.

The first General Meeting, as we have seen, was held at Swannington in 1654, and was attended not only by Quakers, but "Ranters, Baptists, and other professors came." At these meetings money was raised for the aid of imprisoned Friends, and inquiries made and reports received. And we see the incipient "business meeting" in an early stage of its

evolution; or as T. Edmund Harvey M. P. says in his "Rise of the Quakers," thus we have at once the germs of a business meeting for church affairs, and it would seem that minutes made at the General Meeting were taken home by Friends attending it in their own districts."

The General Meeting doubtless soon took shape as a distinctive Friends Meeting, as George Fox says, "And so to Skipton wheer there was a General Meeting of Men Friends."* And again, "We came to Street and to William Beaton at Puddimore, where we had a very large "General Meeting."

In this General Meeting are found the elements of the Quarterly and Yearly Meetings of to-day. The name yearly was doubtless first employed at Scalehouse Skipton, in 1658, and on sixth month, ninth, 1661, George Rolf attended a General Meeting in Newport, America. In 1666 George Fox writes, "then I was moved of the Lord to recommend the setting up of five monthly meetings of men and women in the City of London." Fox evidently had studied the situation carefully, and his plan, which ultimately worked out, was remarkable for its efficiency and in holding the people together in widely separate districts. His plan was as follows: He collected a certain number of Meetings in a neighborhood into a Monthly Meeting. In other words, once a month representatives of the men and women in these meetings attended the central Monthly Meeting. Then over larger districts (including the Monthly

*William Beaton was a Friend of large means. I have in my possession a copy of his widow's will. She became in 1682 the third wife of Christopher Holder and upon her death left part of her estate to the three children of Christopher Holder 2nd.

Meetings) he established Quarterly Meetings, to which delegates and representatives went.

Finally over all was the Yearly Meetings, at which the entire country was represented as to-day. The Yearly Meeting of London, includes England, Scotland and Australia. Harvey says: "It was in the Monthly Meetings that the life of the early Quaker organization was centered, but four times a year delegates from a group of these met along with others who were able to attend in the Quarterly Meeting, whose boundaries usually followed those of the different counties, while from 1672 onwards these were in their turn grouped together into a Yearly Meeting for the whole country, which was regularly held from this date onwards in London about Whitsuntide. The earlier General Meetings which had preceded this still continued to be held at Bristol and in other places for long after this date, though they soon ceased to have legislative power. A Yearly Meeting for Women Friends was held during the latter part of the seventeenth, and the first few years of the eighteenth century in York, issuing an Epistle and corresponding with subordinate Meetings.

At length, after a considerable interval of time, a Women's Yearly Meeting was established in 1784, in London, at the same time as the Yearly Meeting for men, and since 1896 these have met in joint session when matters involving decisions of importance to the whole Society are under discussion."

There was still another meeting in London in 1673, the "Second Day Morning Meeting." This was held at private homes and attended by visiting Friends. Harvey says regarding it: "At its first recorded sitting the "Morn-

ing Meeting” directed Ellis Hookes, the clerk of the Yearly Meeting, to attend in future to record its minutes, and after meeting for some time at various houses (such as that of Gerard Roberts, and that of Ann Travers, at Horslydown) it soon came to meet regularly in the clerk’s chamber. We find this body approving the establishment of new Meetings in London or the neighborhood, sending out (27 XI 1689) a paper to the various Quarterly Meetings and Monthly Meetings on the question of marriages, answering epistles from abroad, and from various Quarterly Meetings at home, and receiving complaints as to Friends travelling as ministers whose services were felt to be misplaced, and authorizing others to go on service both at home and abroad.”

The method followed in 1675 was, that quarterly representatives or delegates for all the districts should meet in London to receive reports and take action. In these meetings, the representatives from London Meetings acted as a sub-committee with powers to call the meeting whenever occasion required. This “quarterly” was ultimately merged into a “monthly.” There has been but little change in procedure from these early times, and the modern meetings are held in much the same manner as in the earlier days. In the business meetings the chief functuary is the “clerk” who takes the place of a “chairman,” but has few of the offices of one, and may have one or more assistants. Business of various kinds has accumulated and the clerk reads the statements to the meeting, or presents it from memory. There may be a prayer preceding it, or a silent meeting, or some Friend feels called upon to give a short sermon on the duties of Friends.

It must be considered in order, no vote is taken, each individual member has the right to express his opinion on the subject; and after a while when the clerk considers that he has the "sense of the meeting" in hand, he embodies it in a draft minute, which he reads to the meeting, embodying later any corrections or pseudo amendments which may be suggested. The prime characteristic is that the "sense of the meeting," i. e., the opinion of those present is obtained by the Clerk without a vote.

In the meeting in New England, the clerk obtained his information by an individual expression, members rising and saying, "I coincide, or I am in sympathy with concurrence;" or "It is agreeable to me." This took much more time than a vote and rarely did a majority express its opinion for or against; but time was not a factor in these meetings. It will be seen that the Clerk must be a clever person with judicial instincts, as he is called upon to embody in his minute a decision that expresses the sentiment of the meeting when there has been no vote and no debate. The reason of this and the absence of votes, oratory, speeches, applause, or demonstrations of any kind, is that while a business meeting is progressing, the element of sanctity is always present, and the guiding presence of the Creator is acknowledged with meekness and dignity. To quote again from Harvey: "The method thus adopted may perhaps be slow and often results in the temporary postponement of some desired change in deference to the strong wish of a small majority. But it remains a striking example of the fundamental belief of Quakerism, and in the reality of the divine presence dwelling amongst men and controlling every thought and act of life."

With the growth and evolution of the Society of Friends in England came meeting-houses, libraries and various societies. The meeting-houses of Friends in England to-day have a sentimental and historic interest, particularly Jordan's Westminster and Devonshire House in Bishop's Gate Street, Without. The later has been used for a century or more as the headquarters of the Society of Friends in England, and since 1794, with the exception of 1905, and 1908, has been used by the Yearly Meeting. Here are the clerks' offices, the committee rooms, and the fine, indeed unrivalled library of Friends books and manuscripts. The buildings stand on the site of a previous meeting house, which was destroyed by the London fire, which also reduced to ashes the first Friends Meeting Place in London—the Bull and Mouth, in St. Martins-Le-Grand, where the General Post Office now stands.

When they were burned out in 1666, the Friends obtained for temporary use some rooms in the residence of the Earl of Devonshire, just "without" Bishop's Gate; and here the Friends of the time of George Fox held their meetings, while the buildings of the city were being re-built, mainly under the general supervision of Sir Christopher Wren, a brother-in-law of Dr. Wm. Holder. The meeting house known as Bull and Mouth was replaced and used up to 1740. Friends also purchased property in the center of the city near Grace Church and Lombard Streets and established the White Hart Court Meeting House; yet they still continued to use the rooms in Devonshire House.

The original house was built by Jasper Fisher who so nearly ruined himself in building it, that it became known as Fisher's Folly. The Earl of Devonshire bought it from

him. Here some of the earliest yearly meetings in London were held. The original lease of Devonshire House was April 3rd, 1667., In 1678, the Friends rented a part of Devonshire House grounds and built a meeting house about forty feet square, which had an approach from Cavendish Court by a lobby which lead into the house. It had various rooms in a second story and others below which could be added to the meeting. The furnishing then was more or less crude, and up to 1741 none of the seats had backs. In 1745 the room was used as a guard house for troops, the Friends loyally giving it up (strange to say) to King George who was threatened by the Pretender. In 1766 the property was purchased by Thomas Talwin for seven hundred pounds, who generously gave it to the Society for three hundred pounds.

There were now six Monthly Meetings in London; others being Westminster, Peel, Grace Church Street, Ratcliff and Southwark. The Friends had increased in number, and more room being needed the meeting for Sufferings bought an old inn, The Dolphin, near Devonshire House, which was reached from Bishop's Gate Street and extended back to Cavendish Court. Here in 1793-4 two houses were built with a capacity of a thousand persons; one for men and one for women. In later years this was added to, and in 1835 a block in Cavendish Court and houses on Devonshire Street were bought. And again in 1868-1875 houses were bought in Hounds Ditch and Bishop's Gate. This gave the Society a large and valuable property suitable for all purposes. In 1866 an Institute was added; other changes followed so that the premises, so valuable historically, provided a home for many Friends Associations, including the Friends'

Foreign Missions Associations, the Home Mission and Extension Committees, the First Day School Association, and the Friends Temperance Union.

In all probability there is no Friends Meeting House in the World that is so commodious as Devonshire House, as there is a mens meeting house which will seat one thousand persons, women's meeting, one thousand, old meeting house, two hundred and eighty, library one hundred and twenty-five, and seven committee rooms with sitting room for one hundred and twenty-five. To this must be added the various retiring rooms, cloak rooms, seven rooms for foreign missions, three for the home mission, a three-room tract association, two rooms for temperance union, two rooms for first day school, and one room for the educational committee, all in all, well equipped to carry on the business affairs of a great and influential Society. At present the property includes about eighteen hundred square yards, extending backward from Bishop's Gate Street to Hounds Ditch, two hundred and forty feet. Some of the old buildings have been taken down and their place occupied by the modern Devonshire House Hotel and adjacent business premises, proving a good investment to one of the oldest Friends' properties in London, and one of the most valuable monuments of the days gone by.

The Britism Museum is rich in Friends' books, but the finest collection extant is that in Devonshire House, which has been collected under the diligent and intelligent direction of Norman Penney. The inception of this library can be traced to a meeting at the house of Gerard Roberts in 1673, and since then the library has gradually grown until it has become a treasure house of literature on the subject;

maps, old photographs, engravings, mezzotints, manuscripts, folios, diaries, dating back to the earliest inception of the Fox movement. Hundreds have contributed to this library, and the names of John Whiting, Morris Birbeck, Joseph Smith and Norman Penney are associated with its evolution and fine arrangement to-day, where one can count on finding all that is necessary for the historian, and a system of classification which appeals to the student, as well as historian. The Devonshire House Library is unique in the world and contains forty thousand items, twenty-seven hundred in print and thirteen thousand manuscripts. This valuable matter is preserved in four strong rooms.

The Friends Institute at Devonshire House has a general library and a picture gallery of Friends photographs, old dwellings, meeting houses, schools, etc. James Boorne of Cheltenham took a special interest in this and the presence here of many rare pictures, prints and portraits of Friends, is due to his vigilance.

CHAPTER XIII.

QUAKER INFLUENCE AND INHERITANCE IN ENGLAND.

ILLUSTRATED BY THE LIFE AND WORK OF JOHN BRIGHT.

Lineal Descendant of Sir John Grattan, Pioneer Quaker and Martyr.

While in London in 1910 I visited the Tower, where in the seventeenth century my Quaker ancestors and kinsmen had been confined. Coincidental with this, I attended the Westminster Meeting where, or near at hand in the old Bull and Mouth Meeting some of them—Christopher Holder and John Ap John had preached. When I entered the meeting Professor Sylvanus Thompson, the distinguished biographer of Lord Kelvin, said, "I am going to give thee John Bright's seat, where he always sat." I confess that my thoughts wandered from the opportunity for self questioning afforded by the impressive silence of the old meeting-house, and dwelt on the great Quaker who took up the fight of George Fox and bore his standard onward in the Victorian era. I also remembered that when Lord Russell acknowledged the belligerent rights of the Confederacy that John Bright, whose seat I occupied, was almost the only man in England to take a stand for my country.

John Bright was the most notable Friend or Quaker in the Victorian period. He was a lineal descendant of a distinguished Englishman, Sir John Grattan, a friend of George Fox, previously referred to, who spent five years in



JOHN BRIGHT

(Elliott and Fry)



KING WILLIAM III.

Derby jail in the time of Fox for violating the Conventicle Act in the reign of Charles II. He was released in 1686 by King James, and his fourth great grandson, John Bright, carried on up to the time of his death, a vigorous fight in England for Quaker principles. His biographer, R. Henry O'Brien, says of him, "He will live in the memory of his fellow countrymen as the greatest moral force which appeared in English politics during his generation."

Exactly what would become of England as a world power without her fleet and army, John Bright never satisfactorily explained to the Tories; but the first Lord Lytton wrote the clever lines:

"Let Bright responsible for England be,
And straight in Bright a Chatham we should see,"

which suggests what is probably the truth, that while John Bright was a Quaker and opposed to war, he was first of all a patriot and loyal Englishman, who, like his ancestor's friend, Fox, was a century ahead of his time.

Reformers are generally hated by ultra conservatives or those who do not desire a change, and there are few men in public life in England who have been better abused or hated than this nineteenth century Quaker, who really was a true patriot, carried away by his interest in the great masses of the people and their poverty. John Bright entered Parliament in 1844 as an Independent Liberal and Free Trader against Mr. Purvis, a Tory and Protectionist, and at once made himself felt by his so-called attacks on the government.

If any one condition had made an impression on him, it was the poverty of the lower classes and he early became their champion. This found its chief expression in the famous Corn Law controversy. At the end of the Napol-

eonie Era foreign wheat was kept out of England, by heavy duty, which naturally raised the price of the domestic product. The force of this fell upon the poor consumer, and Bright believed that he could alleviate the terrible poverty of the lower classes so affected, by a repeal of the anti-Corn Laws which would result in cheap food. The Corn Law was passed in 1815, and so heavy a duty was placed on wheat that the home-grown product reached eighty shillings a quarter.

In 1822 another act passed to allow the importation of corn, when the local price of wheat reached seventy shillings a quarter, and in 1828 a third act was passed which provided a duty of twenty-three shillings eight pence, when the price of wheat in the home market reached fifty-four shillings. The fight made by Bright on this law, is the key to his character. He was trying to lift a burden from the oppressed, and this brought him into warfare with the landed gentry. "This house," said Bright in Parliament, "is a club of landowners, legislating for landowners. The Corn Law you cherish is a law to make a scarcity of food in the country, that your own rents may be increased. The quarrel is between the bread-eating millions and the few who monopolize the soil." The manifest injustice produced in Bright a strong dislike for the governing class, and he soon became the representative of the people in Parliament, and under all one may see the old Quaker ideas still being battled for by the grandson of Sir John Grattan, whom Charles II. imprisoned for demanding liberty of conscience in the seventeenth century.

The Quaker prejudice against the established church is shown in his sarcasm in the speech against the Ecclesiastical

Titles bill of Lord Russell in 1851: "The noble lord at the head of the government said tonight that he was strongly opposed to ecclesiastical influence in temporal affairs. Why, if we walk to the other House, we see twenty-four or twenty-six Bishops, and it is a remarkable fact that they always sit behind the government. When a Minister crosses the House, the Bishops stay where they are; they always keep on the Government side. One of these bishops, or rather an archbishop has an income of £15,000 a year. I heard the noble lord, when this archbishop was appointed, state that an arrangement had been made by which the salary would be brought down from its hitherto unknown and fabulous amount to this £15,000 a year; and the noble lord said, with a coolness I thought inimitable, that he hoped this would be quite satisfactory. Not only, however, here, but wherever they travel, these bishops and archbishops are surrounded with pomp and power. A bishop was sent lately to Jerusalem; and he did not travel like an ordinary man—he had a steam frigate to himself, called the *Devastation*. And when he arrived within a stone's throw, no doubt, of the house where an apostle lived, in the house of Simon the tanner, he landed under a salute of twenty-one guns."

Bright was continually attacking the aristocracy; but it was because he considered them responsible for the poverty that cursed England. His critic, even his biographer, states in unequivocal language that he hated the aristocracy, but there was no such word as hate in the vocabulary of John Bright, the Quaker. He looked upon the institution of aristocracy as a menace to the nation, and he doubtless believed that if England ever became decadent, the initial and

major symptom would be discovered at this end of the Kingdom.

Pure of heart, honorable, conscientious to the limit, with all the Quaker inheritance of two centuries entrenched in his heart and soul, he could not do otherwise than stand for the honor of his country along the lines of the greatest resistance. Few men have had more verbal abuse, even in the seventeenth century, than John Bright. If he had lived in 1650, he would have been jailed and perhaps beheaded for treason by the clever Tories of the time, or in Boston he might have had his tongue burned with a red-hot iron, or have lost an ear, after the fashion of Christopher Holder, a friend of Sir John Grattan, his forebear.

John Bright had no hatred for the established church or its Bishops. He merely considered it an obsolete appendage to the greatest world power, as he held England to be; and his reasons were that he did not believe that the Bishops or the established church did its whole duty as a moral force. If there was such a thing as reincarnation, which there is not in the minds of the sane and well-balanced public, John Bright was the reincarnation in the nineteenth century of George Fox. Bright's attitude to the church, expressing his opinion as regards its usefulness, is shown in the following extract from his famous Liverpool address to Welshmen in 1868:

"For the last two hundred years, up to the end of the great war with France, this country was almost constantly engaged in war. I never knew the archbishops and bishops of the church of England to meet to promote peace and condemn war. When the great question of slavery agitated the country, though there were some of them that gave their

support to the right side on that question, there was no combined and unanimous movement in regard to it. When twenty-five or thirty years ago we met, probably in this very building, to denounce one of the greatest iniquities that ever assumed the form of law—the Corn Law—the archbishops and bishops never for one moment deemed it their duty to express an opinion upon the question or, so far as we know, to give it five minutes' examination. I have never known them in England or Ireland, in the most calamitous days of our modern history, I have never known them come forward in any combined manner to expose the sufferings and denounce the wrongs which were practised upon their poorer countrymen."

He objected to the aristocracy in an economic sense, but he believed that the millions of citizens of Great Britain have rights which the aristocracy and great land owners did not justly consider. If he had lived to-day he would not have been found with the men who wish to wipe out the House of Lords, but he would have been a protagonist of the ethical principle that if members of the House of Lords were incompetent, if the Bishops never attended, if the absentee list was a menace, that the House should be reformed a position that no Englishman of sense and good judgment is opposed to, in the twentieth century. It was charged that Bright would have swept the House of Lords out of existence, but this is not so. His attitude is illustrated by the following incident.

One day he was drinking tea with Lady Stanley, who asked him the direct question, "What do we want with a House of Lords?" He made no reply and again the question was put with woman's determination. The great

Tribune was fingering his cup and turned the hot beverage into the saucer to cool, a solecism that would have lost him the suffragette Tory vote very likely, had it been alive. He tapped the saucer of smoking tea and said, "This is the House of Lords." He meant that it was a cooler for the Commons, a needed check, as the American Senate is to the House of Representatives, and a necessity. He was a master of cynical and subtle sarcasm. His contempt was of the withering, scorching variety, to which there was no reply. He was a real servant of all the people, their representative in the House of Commons, and it was impossible for him to remain silent, when he believed that the business of the kingdom was being badly managed.

In appearance John Bright was a splendid specimen of an Englishman, a type of the best that the evolution of humanity had done for the Caucasian race. His face, called homely by some, with its aureola of white, set off by the leonine mass of hair, expressed the noble sentiments which actuated all his thoughts and actions. Benignity, dignity and nobility of character shone from his eyes. O'Brien thus described his appearance in the House of Commons: "Immediately on the left of Gladstone, so far as I can now recall, was John Bright. His splendid leonine head was, I thought, the noblest object in the House of Commons that night. He was stately and dignified. He sat upright and looked straight in front of him. The lines of the mouth were drawn down, and the expression was earnest, defiant, severe, with a touch of contempt and scorn when Tory cheers greeted the belligerent periods of the fiery Hardy. During Hardy's speech Bright looked, in the main, unconcerned. Sometimes the arms were folded, sometimes the

elbow of the right arm rested in the palm of the left hand and the uplifted fingers stroked the chin. Mr. Gladstone turned to him now and then, but without, so far as I could see, eliciting much response."

To understand John Bright's career and the hostility of the aristocracy, it must be remembered that John Bright was not an ambitious politician. He never sought official honors, and all the places of honor he filled were thrust or forced upon him by the arguments of those who, even if they opposed him, saw in him a great, true and valuable citizen, whose counsel the kingdom could not afford to lose.

He was not understood by the aristocracy; was supposed to be gruff, even coarse; and the fact that he considered himself a representative of the people, of the masses, brought upon him the charge of not being a "gentleman." The truth is that John Bright was one of the most cultivated and best-read gentlemen in England; but he was a Quaker, hence he had very simple habits, disdained the extreme social customs, and had an inherent disregard for fashion. He honestly believed that in the sight of God the humblest worker in England's mines had the same right to live and enjoy life as the king. Lord Eversley* says of him:

"I have always looked back at my association in 1869-70 with Mr. Bright at the Board of Trade, when he was President and I was Parliamentary Secretary, with the greatest pleasure, and with a strong personal affection for him. He told me when we first met at the office that I must do most of the work and only bring before him the more important

*I am indebted to Mr. O'Brien for permission to quote this extract which Mr. O'Brien writes me was written by Lord Eversley for Mr. O'Brien's life of John Bright.

questions. He had no experience of official work, and I gathered that he had not taken much part in the business of the manufacturing of which he was a partner. At the age of fifty-seven it was rather late in life to begin work at the head of a great Government department. He had a great distaste, and almost an incapacity, for wading through a bundle of official papers. It was said in the office that he did not know how to untie the tape that held them together. I don't think he often did this. I don't recollect his ever writing a minute on them. He liked me to state the case to him, and he would then discuss it fully and with practical common-sense. What he said was always of the greatest value, and his conclusions were sound and wise. Sometimes, however, before deciding he would go down to the House of Commons and discuss the matter with some friend in the smoking room there, and it was difficult then to meet the arguments or objections of this unknown person.

I recollect that in the very first case Mr. Bright had to deal with at the Board of Trade, a deputation came before him from the Elder Brethren of the Trinity House, asking for some amendment of their charter. Mr. Bright asked me, before receiving them, what I knew about them. I told him that they were an old corporation, in whom, from time immemorial, the administration of the light-house had been vested, subject in recent years to their control of expenditure by the Board of Trade; no one, I said, would think of creating such a body nowadays, but that, as they did then work fairly well, there was no present reason for disestablishing them.

In the course of his reply to the deputation Mr. Bright, pointing to me, said, 'You see that Radical chap there; he

would sweep you into the sea if he could.' He then presented himself to them as the more conservative statesman, and ended by conceding what they wanted. It amused me much to be called a "Radical chap" by Mr. Bright as compared with himself; but there was a certain amount of truth in the comparison, for in details of administrations and in proposals for legislation Mr. Bright was distinctly conservative, far more so than I was. He objected to interference or legislation if it could possibly be avoided. He got into trouble with the Press for a speech he made in the House of Commons objecting to a bill which aimed at giving greater protection against adulteration.

Mr. Bright was an exceedingly pleasant chief to work under, showing the fullest confidence and consideration. He not infrequently deferred to my views, even when disagreeing with them. In one important question, where the Board of Trade had been asked by the Foreign Office for an opinion as to the instructions to be given to our Minister in Peking on a negotiation for a commercial treaty, after discussing the matter with me, Mr. Bright said, 'Well, you have given great attention to the subject and I very little, so the letter had better go to the Foreign Office as you propose, though I quite disagree.' And so it went.

Later, Lord Clarendon who was then Foreign Secretary, sent for me to discuss the same question with him. Curiously enough he ended the discussion almost in the same words as Mr. Bright had done, and instructions were sent to the Minister in China in the terms I proposed, though both Mr. Bright and Lord Clarendon disagreed. I should add that my opinion had been formed after consultation with Lord Farrer and Sir Lewis Malet, then officials at the Board of Trade.

Mr. Bright struck me as a very good judge of men. The only important post at the Board of Trade which fell vacant while he was in office there was that of the head of the Railway Department. There were a great many applicants for it. Mr. Bright took much trouble in personally seeing many of them. He picked out from them a young lawyer, Mr. William Malcolm, who came of a well-known Tory stock. The appointment turned out a most excellent one in every respect. After some years of work at the Board of Trade Mr. Malcolm was transferred to the Colonial Office, and later was tempted to leave the Government service by an offer of partnership in Messrs. Coutts' Bank.

Mr. Bright often discussed Mr. Gladstone with me. He had the most profound admiration for his chief, and was astounded at his power of work. He could not have believed it was possible for any human being to get through so much. He said that Mr. Gladstone had a passion for work, and revelled in it for its own sake. Of himself, he said that he had no such power or liking for work. The only pleasant thing about office, he humorously added, was receiving the salary. He gave great support to Mr. Gladstone in the Cabinet. I feel certain that Mr. Gladstone had the greatest confidence in him, and appreciated his sound counsel. When Mr. Bright, in Mr. Gladstone's second administration, resigned his post on account of the military operations in Egypt, from something he said to me I thought he was rather hurt to find how little disturbed Mr. Gladstone was at losing him for a colleague. I made the observation that resignations of colleagues were to Mr. Gladstone a part of his everyday work.

I was confirmed in this view of Mr. Gladstone later, in

1884, when I was a member of his cabinet. The period was one of great internal differences in the Government, and at several successive Cabinets resignations were tendered, and were only withdrawn after great difficulties. Mr. Gladstone dealt with these cases with imperturbable temper and calmness, as part of the business of the day. I recollect that in coming out of a Cabinet, after one of these scenes, he made the jocular observation to me that 'his colleagues seemed to be all going off at half-cock.'

Mr. Bright spent much labour in preparing his speeches. His speech in 1869, on the Bill for disestablishing the Irish Church was one of the best he ever made. It was the subject of long thought and preparation. His great efforts were perhaps conceived in a loftier strain than Mr. Gladstone's, but he did not compare in general effectiveness—in power of debate—in all the use of rhetorical and dialectical methods. His impromptu speeches were rare, but they were not wanting in spirit and power. He gave much time to reading poetry. He often copied out lines which pleased him, and carried them about in his pocket for the purpose of committing them to memory. I thought his massive head a very noble one, and his expression refined and beautiful—totally different from the version given of him in *Punch*—which always depicted him as a coarse and almost brutal demagogue. It was in this sense he was regarded for many years by the Tory party. It was only quite late in his life in the House of Commons that the impression changed, and that even his opponents recognized his noble simplicity and refinement."

John Bright's love of justice was overwhelming. It was his Quaker inheritance and this naturally

gave him a contempt for shams and a desire to fight them down. His biographer, Mr. O'Brien, says: "John Bright was, above all things, a domestic man. He loved home life. He said of himself that it was only the strongest sense of duty which induced him to take part in public affairs. He was not ambitious; he cared little for fame and glory. But forces which he could not control impelled him to become a great figure in the State. A love of justice was born in him; sympathy with the oppressed was the very essence of his being; and a gift of oratory, as rare as was ever bestowed upon any man of ancient or modern times, was his special endowment. Morally and intellectually strong, he was called to do battle for the cause of righteousness, in his own country and in other lands, and he responded to the call. But had he followed the bent of his own inclination, he would have abided among his own people, enjoying the companionship of friends, books, and family, doing good wherever he went by his influence and example, by living far from the heat and tumult and worry of political strife."

While *Punch*, and the Tory press satirized him grossly, and his enemies laughed him to scorn when they could, the real men of England never failed to appreciate him and his greatness of character. Lord Granville refers to his visit to Queen Victoria in a letter to Gladstone: "Bright evidently touched some feminine chord, for she was much touched with him, and saw him again the next morning. Without unnecessary depreciation of our enemies, it is probable that she is not insensible to the charm of sincerity and earnestness."

We then retired to the Household at tea, and Bright was by no means dashed when Alfred Paget addressed the com-

pany as if through a speaking trumpet, "Well, I never expected to see John Bright here." Lord Granville in the same letter compared Bright to some one whose name is omitted. Could it have been———? The quotation is as follows: "——— came in. Nothing could be more striking than the contrast between the two men. Both a little vain, and with good reason to be so; but one so guileless in his allusions to himself, and the other showing it enveloped with little artifices and mock humility; one so intrinsically a gentleman, and so ignorant of our particular society, the other a little vulgar, but a consummate master of the ways of the *grande monde*."

In reference to John Bright as a politician, Lord Fitzmaurice says in his life of Lord Granville: "His acceptance of office was perhaps the most striking feature in the new arrangements. It was the outward and visible sign of the definite junction between the more advanced section of the old Liberal Party and the Radicalism of the school of Mr. Cobden. The Tadpoles and Tapers of London Toryism went about asserting that none of the "gentlemen" of the Liberal Party would associate with the great Tribune of Birmingham, and Lord Derby was freely quoted by them, though without any kind of authority, as having said that the Queen would never receive Mr. Bright as a Minister. Lord Granville marked his opinion by walking down Parliament Street from the Cabinet, arm in arm with the new President of the Board of Trade, to the House on the day of the Meeting of Parliament, and he piloted the new Minister on his first journey to Osborne."

John Bright's Quaker ancestry and views shaped his entire public career. He opposed war consistently but he did

not treat it from the standpoint of the Peace Society, but rather from the statesman's point of view. He disclaimed being the original protagonist of a policy of peace, and referred to Peel, Walpole, Fox and others as Englishmen who had resented the interference of Great Britain in foreign affairs. One day in walking by the Waterloo monument on which was the word *Crimea*, he remarked to his companion, "the last letter of that word should be placed first." In his great speech on the *Crimea* in which he also defines the ambitions of his life, he said, "I am not, nor did I ever pretend to be, a statesman; as that character is so tainted and so equivocal in our day, that I am not sure that a pure and honourable ambition would aspire to it. I have not enjoyed for thirty years, like these noble lords, the honours and emoluments of office. I have not set my sails to every passing breeze." And now speaks the Quaker, "I am a plain and simple citizen, sent here by one of the foremost constituencies of the Empire, representing feebly, perhaps, but honestly, I dare aver, the opinions of very many, and the true interests of all those who have sent me here. *Let it not be said that I am alone in my condemnation of this war, and of this incapable and guilty administration. And, even if I were alone, if mine were a solitary voice, raised amid the din of arms, and the clamours of a venal Press, I should have the consolation I have tonight—and which I trust will be mine to the last moment of my existence—the priceless consolation that no word of mine has tended to promote the squandering of my country's treasure or the spilling of one single drop of my country's blood.*"

In his Birmingham speech of 1853, he said, "If you turn to the history of England, from the period of the Revolu-

tion to the present, you will find that an entirely new policy was adopted, and that, while we have endeavored in former times to keep ourselves free from European complications, we now began to act upon a system of constant entanglement in the affairs of foreign countries, as if there was neither property nor honours, nor anything worth striving for, to be acquired in any other field. The language coined and used then has continued to our day. Lord Somers, in writing for William III., speaks of the endless and sanguinary wars of that period as wars 'to maintain the liberties of Europe.' There were wars 'to support the Protestant interest,' and there were many wars to preserve our old friend 'the balance of power.'

We have been at war since that time, I believe, with, for, and against, every considerable nation in Europe. We fought to put down a pretended French supremacy under Louis XIV. We fought to prevent France and Spain coming under the sceptre of one monarch, although, if we had not fought, it would have been impossible in the course of things that they should have become so united. We fought to maintain the Italian provinces in connection with the House of Austria. We fought to put down the supremacy of Napoleon Bonaparte; and the Minister who was employed by this country at Vienna, after the great war, when it was determined that no Bonaparte should ever again sit on the throne of France, was the very man to make an alliance with another Bonaparte for the purpose of carrying on a war to prevent the supremacy of the late Emperor of Russia. So that we have been all round Europe, and across it over and over again, and after a policy so distinguished, so long continued, and so costly, I think we have a fair right—

I have, at last—to ask those who are in favour of it to show us its visible result.”

Then he held up to his amazed listeners the bill wrung from the people: “I believe that I understate the sum when I say that, in pursuit of this will-o’-the-wisp (the liberties of Europe and the balance of power), there has been extracted from the industry of the people of this small island no less an amount than £2,000,000,000 sterling (ten million dollars). I cannot imagine how much £2,000,000,000 is, and therefore I shall not attempt to make you comprehend it. I presume it is something like those vast and incomprehensible astronomical distances with which we have lately been made familiar; but, however familiar, we feel that we do not know one bit more about them than we did before. When I try to think of that sum of £2,000,000,000 there is a sort of vision passes before my mind’s eye. I see your peasant labourer delve and plough, sow and reap, sweat beneath the summer’s sun, or grow prematurely old before the winter’s blast. I see your noble mechanic, with his manly countenance and his matchless skill, toiling at his bench or his forge. I see one of the workers in our factories in the north, a woman, a girl it may be—gentle and good, as many of them are, as your sisters and daughters are,—I see her intent upon the spindle, whose revolutions are so rapid that the eye fails altogether to detect them, or watching the alternating flight of the unresting shuttle. I turn again to another portion of your population, which, “plunged in mines, forgets a sun was made,” and I see the man who brings up from the secret chambers of the earth the elements of the riches and greatness of his country. When I see all this I have before me a mass of produce and of wealth which

I am no more able to comprehend than I am that £2,000,000,000 of which I have spoken, but I behold in its full proportions the hideous error of your Governments, whose fatal policy consumes in some cases a half, never less than a third, of all the results of that industry which God intended should fertilize and bless every home in England, but the fruits of which are squandered in every part of the surface of the globe, without producing the smallest good to the people of England."

Then he asked, who is benefited by the policy?

"Mr. Kingslake, the author of an interesting book on eastern travel, describing the habits of some acquaintances that he made in the Syrian deserts, says that the jackals of the desert follow their prey in families, like the place-hunters of Europe. I will reverse, if you like, the comparison, and say that the great territorial families of England, which were enthroned at the Revolution, have followed their prey like the jackals of the desert. Do you not observe at a glance that from the time of William III., by reason of the foreign policy which I denounce, wars have been multiplied, taxes increased, loans made, and the sums of money which every year the Government has to expend augmented; and that so the patronage at the disposal of Ministers must have increased also, and the families who were enthroned and made powerful in the legislation and administration of the country must have had the first pull at, and the largest profit out of, that patronage? There is no actuary in existence who can calculate how much of the wealth, of the strength, of the supremacy of the territorial families of England has been derived from an unholy participation in the fruits of the industry of the people, which have been

wrested from them by every device of taxation and squandered in every conceivable crime of which a Government could possibly be guilty.

The more you examine this matter the more you will come to the conclusion which I have arrived at—that this foreign policy, this regard for ‘the liberties of Europe,’ this care at one time for ‘the Protestant interests,’ this excessive love for ‘the balance of power,’ is neither more nor less than a gigantic system of outdoor relief for the aristocracy of Great Britain.”

John Bright’s Quaker instinct led him to devote himself to the moral upbuilding of the nation and to reform, hence we see him devoting himself to such subjects as Ireland, Free Trade, India, the Crimean War, Parliamentary Reform, Public Expenditures. In the American Congress there have been certain men dubbed “the watch dogs of the Treasury.” John Bright was one of these in the House of Commons; he was continually aware that he was the steward and was always ready to give an account of his stewardship.

Bright made a fight for the common people against the Corn Law which has become historic. With Cobden, he gradually convinced the people. It took them seven years to make Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell free traders, and the story is well told in the Letters of Queen Victoria.

They converted the “Times,” which, as the Prince Consort says, “became suddenly, violently anti-Corn Law.” The Peel ministry was amazed by the sudden surrender of Lord John Russell; all England was convulsed. The Peel cabinet was demoralized, and we see the spectacle of the Duke of Wellington, Lord Russell, and others suspicious and antagonistic. The intensity of the feeling may be

shown by the fact that the Duke of Beaufort wrote a letter, which Lord Granville says was doubtless dictated by Alvanley, in which the sentence appears, "Peel ought not die a natural death." This in 1845-6. In this war, the Quaker had the friendship and influence of Queen Victoria, and in 1846, Peel again took office and the Corn law was repealed, and a sliding scale adopted for three years. Peel, the prime minister, was denounced by the Duke of Buccleuch, Wellington, Beaufort and other Tory leaders for betraying the party.

John Bright, the Quaker, had again won a great moral victory for the people, and his defense of Peel must have been a solace to that distinguished statesman. "You say the right hon. baronet is a traitor. It would ill become me to attempt his defense after the speech which he delivered last night—a speech, I will venture to say, more powerful and more to be admired than any speech which has been delivered within the memory of any man in this House. I watched the right hon. baronet as he went home last night, and for the first time I envied him his feelings. That speech has circulated by scores of thousands throughout the kingdom and throughout the world; and wherever a man is to be found who loves justice, and wherever there is a labourer whom you have trampled under foot, that speech will bring joy to the heart of the one and hope to the breast of another. You chose the right hon. baronet—why? Because he was the ablest man of your party. You always said so, and you will not deny it now. Why was he the ablest? Because he had great experience, profound attainments, and an honest regard for the good of the country. You placed him in office. When a man is in office he is not

the same man as when in opposition. The present posterity or generation does not deal as mildly with men in Government as with those in Opposition. There are such things as the responsibilities of office. Look at the population of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and there is not a man among you who would have the valour to take office and raise the standard of Protection, and cry, 'down with the Anti-Corn Law League and Protection forever!' There is not a man in your ranks who would dare to sit on that bench as the Prime Minister of England pledged to maintain the existing law. The right hon. baronet took the only, the truest course—he resigned. He told you by that act, 'I will no longer do your work; I will not defend your cause. The experience I have had since I came into office renders it impossible for me at once to maintain office and the Corn Law.' The right hon. baronet resigned—he was then no longer your Minister. He came back to office as the Minister of his sovereign and of the people."

Whether Cobden or Bright was the most potent figure in producing this great reform the reader of history must decide, but there was no question in the mind of John Bright. His fine Quaker modesty came to the front, for when he appealed to Cobden not to resign, he said, "I am of opinion that your retirement would be tantamount to a dissolution of the League; its mainspring would be gone. I can in no degree take your place. As a second I can fight; but there are incapacities about me, of which I am fully conscious, which prevent my being more than a second in such work as we have laboured in."

Disraeli in 1844 thus cleverly defined the Irish Question: "The Irish, in extreme distress, inhabit an island where

there is an established Church which is not their Church, and a territorial aristocracy the richest of whom live in foreign capitals. Thus you have a starving population, an absentee aristocracy, and an alien Church; and in addition the weakest executive in the world. That is the Irish Question." John Bright became the champion of the downpressed of Ireland. He said, "I am reading about Ireland and thinking about her almost continually, and am quite clear as to what is required for her; but our aristocratic Government will see the people perish by thousands rather than yield anything of their privileges and usurpations."

In 1884 when John Bright was discussing Ireland, he said "But if the ancient lines are to be worked upon, and Ireland is to be by no means tranquilised and united to this country, then I can only wish—to use a simile I once used in this House—that she could be unmoored from her fastenings in the deep, and moved three thousand miles to the west." Ireland is still anchored, but its people *have* moved three thousand miles west, as most of them in the year 1913 are on the American continent and are still Irish, while in Ireland, John Bright's Home-Rule dream has almost come true.

In his later days John Bright changed to some extent his views relating to Ireland. He still was interested in the Irish and their struggles, but they split on the question of Home Rule. No English statesman ever immolated himself more completely on the bayonet of his enemies, than did John Bright. He stood by and pleaded for Ireland when no other Englishman had the temerity, and when it meant practical obliquity and ostracism. His attitude in denouncing the Crimean War brought upon him the veiled charge of

not, treason, but something worse—aiding the enemy. His efforts for India brought upon him the attacks of civil servants and the government; yet they were based on lofty ideas of humanity, justice and right, not only of Quakers, but of all men.

During the American War of the Rebellion, England promptly acknowledged the belligerent rights of the Confederacy, and the nation gave its sympathy and moral support to the men who proposed to disrupt the greatest experiment in pure democracy ever known. There was a minority and its leader was John Bright, who was charged with many crimes. The "Alabama," that was built by Messrs. Laird & Co., at Birkenhead, and sailed under the English flag, and devastated American Commerce. Mr. Laird stated in the House of Commons, amid cheers, that he would rather be known as the builder of a dozen "Alabamas" than a man like John Bright who had set class against class.

John Bright continued to attack the English standpoint and his opponents were obliged to pay to America £3,000,000, the award of the Geneva Arbitrators for the damages caused by the "Alabama." During the year 1912, the House of Lords has had its powers limited, after a fight which has virtually lasted for fifty-four years. In 1858 John Bright turned his wit and sarcasm against the peers in the following speech: "I am not going to attack the House of Lords. Some people tell us that the House of Lords has in its time done great things for freedom. It may be so, though I have not been so successful in finding out how or where, as some people have been. At least since 1690, or thereabouts, when the peers became the dominant power in this country, I am scarcely able to discover one single meas-

ure important to human or English freedom which has come from the voluntary consent and good-will of their House.

The following from one of his speeches is a description of a peer :

“You know what a peer is. He is one of those fortunate individuals who are described as coming into the world ‘with a silver spoon in their mouths.’ Or, to use the more polished and elaborate phraseology of the poet, it may be said of him :

Fortune came smiling to his youth and woo’d it,
And purpled greatness met his ripened years.

When he is a boy, among his brothers and sisters, he is pre-eminent; he is the eldest son; he will be ‘My Lord;’ this fine mansion, this beautiful park, these countless farms, this vast political influence, will one day centre on this innocent boy. The servants know it, and pay him greater deference on account of it. He grows up and goes to school and college; his future position is known; he has no great incitement to work hard, because whatever he does it is very difficult to improve his fortune in any way. When he leaves college he has a secure position ready-made for him, and there seems to be no reason why he should follow ardently any of those occupations which make men great among their fellow-men. He takes his seat in the House of Peers; whatever be his character, whatever his intellect, whatever his previous life, whether he be in England or ten thousand miles away; be he tottering down the steep of age, or be he passing through the imbecility of second childhood, yet by means of that charming contrivance—made only for peers—vote by proxy, he gives his vote for or against, and, un-

fortunately, too often against, all those great measures on which you and the country have set your hearts. There is another kind of peer which I am afraid to touch upon—that creature of—what shall I say?—of monstrous, nay, even of adulterous birth—the spiritual peer. I assure you with the utmost frankness and sincerity that it is not in the nature of things that men in these positions should become willing fountains from which can flow great things from the freedom of any country. We are always told that the peers are necessary as a check. If that is so, I must say they answer their purpose admirably.”

Such sentiments fired against this venerable institution in 1858 produced a most unfavorable impression, and did not add to the popularity of the eminent Quaker, yet there are some in England to-day who see in the witty and denunciatory characterization, vital and prophetic truths; and if English Quakers needed any justification for their great representation, they have it in the resolution limiting the vote of the House of Lords, which passed the House of Commons in 1910:

“I. That it is expedient that the House of Lords be disabled by law from rejecting or amending a Money Bill, but that any such limitation by law shall not be taken to diminish or qualify the existing rights and privileges of the House of Commons.

For the purpose of this Resolution a Bill shall be considered a Money Bill if, in the opinion of the Speaker, it contains only provisions dealing with all or any of the following subjects, namely, the imposition, repeal, remission, alteration, or regulation of taxation; charges on the Consolidated Fund or the provision of money by Parliament;

Supply; the appropriation, control, or regulation of public money; the raising or guarantee of any loan or the repayment thereof for matters incidental to those subjects or any of them.

2. That it is expedient that the powers of the House of Lords, as respects Bills other than Money Bills, be restricted by law, so that any such Bill which has passed the House of Commons in three successive Sessions and, having been sent up to the House of Lords at least once a month before the end of the session, has been rejected by that House in each of those Sessions, shall become law without the consent of the House of Lords on the Royal assent being declared: Provided that at least two years shall have elapsed between the date of the first introduction of the Bill in the House of Commons and the date on which it passes the House of Commons for the third time.

For the purposes of this Resolution a Bill shall be treated as rejected by the House of Lords if it has not been passed by the House of Lords either without Amendment or with such Amendments only as may be agreed upon by both Houses.

3. That it is expedient to limit the duration of Parliament to five years."

John Bright certainly did everything in England to make himself unpopular with the landed gentry; he was the champion of the minority who were fighting for the majority, yet England appreciated his greatness; his sincerity and honesty of purpose were never doubted. When Gladstone asked him to join the Liberal ministry of 1868, he became against his will President of the Board of Trade, and "I was offered," he said, with a flash of wit, "any office *except that*

of war." He went into the service of the Gladstone ministry "with the cordial and gracious acquiescence of her Majesty, the Queen," but much against his will, a fact well illustrated in the following, from one of his speeches: "I have not aspired at any time of my life to the rank of a Privy Councilor, nor to the dignity of a Cabinet office. I should have preferred much to have remained in that common rank of simple citizenship in which heretofore I have lived. There is a passage in the Old Testament which has often struck me as being one of great beauty. Many of you will recollect that the prophet, in journeying to and fro, was very hospitably entertained by what is termed in the Bible a Shunammite woman. In return for her hospitality, he wished to make her some amends, and he called her to him and asked her what he should do for her. 'Shall I speak for thee to the king,' he said, 'or to the captain of the host?'"

Now, it has always appeared to me that the Shunammite woman returned a great answer. She replied in declining the prophet's offer, 'I dwell among mine own people.' When the question was put to me whether I would step into the position in which I now find myself, the answer from my heart was the same—I wish to dwell among mine own people. Happily, the time may have come—I trust it has come—when in this country an honest man may enter the service of the crown, and at the same time not feel it in any degree necessary to disassociate himself from his own people."

The enemies of the Quaker statesman attempted every expedient to check him. In 1859 Viscount Palmerston conceived the idea of bribing him, at least his letter of the 2nd

of July, 1859, to the Queen, has all the ear-marks of a bribe. He tells her that he has heard from a number of sources that Mr. Bright would be highly flattered if he received the office of Privy Councilor, and he suggests that the honor might change the direction of his thoughts, all of which would be an advantage to her Majesty.

But the Queen refused her assent to Lord Palmerston's proposal on the ground that he had rendered the state no service,—a clever sarcasm, and, moreover, she doubted very much whether an honor of the kind would influence Mr. Bright; and if it did not, her Majesty shrewdly remarks that what he said in the future would only have additional weight as a Privy Councilor. Queen Victoria, who at the last became the great Quaker's friend, was a far better judge of John Bright than was Lord Palmerston.

John Bright never visited America, and the reason is given by Allen Jay in his *Autobiography*. Jay wrote to him, "If thee will come to America, we will give thee a great ovation." "That is just the reason I cannot go," replied the English Quaker. "Sometime ago the press reported that I was going to America, and I began to receive cablegrams offering me hotel accommodations in many cities. The Pullman Car Company cabled that a fully equipped train would meet me with parlor and dining cars. Then came a message from the President of the United States saying that I must be the nation's guest. I saw at once they were going to make a hero of me, and that they would kill me, so I had to give it up."

John Bright died March the 27th, 1889, and rests in the Friends Burial Ground at Rochdale.

Book II.

THE QUAKERS IN AMERICA AND OTHER COLONIES.

1656-1913.

All that remains is to set upon Boston Common, the scene of their martyrdom, a fitting monument to the heroes that won the victory.

John Fiske.



JOSEPH WANTON
Quaker Governor of Rhode Island



MRS. RUSSELL SAGE
Fourth Great Granddaughter of Christopher Holder

CHAPTER XIV.

QUAKER INFLUENCE AND INHERITANCE IN AMERICA.

ILLUSTRATED BY THE LIFE AND WORK OF
MRS. RUSSELL SAGE.

Lineal Descendant of Peleg Slocum and Christopher Holder, Members of the
Society of Friends.

Next to George Fox and William Penn the most influential Quaker in England has been John Bright, a dominant figure in English politics and reforms in the nineteenth century. In America the life of Mrs. Russell Sage, a fourth great granddaughter of Christopher Holder, a lineal descendant of the Quaker Governors Wanton of Rhode Island, and of Peleg Slocum, the pioneer Quaker minister, presents an extraordinary and forceful illustration of the duration of Quaker ideas and inheritance, as this great American philanthropist has brought down to the nineteenth century the Christian ideals of her distinguished Quaker forebears, and in her philanthropic work has rendered an accounting of a great trust that has given her a place with the great names of history. John Bright fought for Quaker principles and ideals in the House of Commons. Mrs. Russell Sage has made the world her field through the wonderful workings of the Sage Foundation whose charity and philanthropy is conducted not only on humanitarian ideals but on scientific principles.

The Honorable Russell Sage left his wife, the descendant

of Quakers, over fifty million dollars without a suggestion as to its use or distribution. It might be said, and doubtless has been, that it was too great a responsibility to place upon a frail woman; but one has to know Mrs. Sage even slightly to understand the wisdom of the choice. Russell Sage recognized in his wife a strong religious faith, coupled with keen intuition for justice and good judgment. That he made no mistake is evinced in the extraordinary work of the Sage Foundation and many philanthropic deeds remarkable for their diversity and effect upon the American nation. Strong, tender, just and faithful to a Christian life and example, this woman has been able to meet the imposing responsibility, doubtless due to the religion of her forbears and the Quaker heredity traits that have come down to her from both sides of a distinguished ancestry.

The story of heredity is interesting, and conclusive to those who have made it a scientific study. Christopher Holder, the distinguished missionary, author and minister, who founded the first Quaker Society in America, in 1657, who was the author of the first Declaration of Faith of Quakers in England and America; a martyr of martyrs, whose extraordinary story is told elsewhere in this volume, was the fourth great grandfather of Mrs. Sage. His daughter Mary married Peleg Slocum, a prominent Quaker minister in the colonial days of Rhode Island and Massachusetts, and down through the famous names of colonial history—the Slocums, Scotts, Holders, Wantons, Jermaines, Piersons, we follow her forebears until the year of her birth.

Christopher Holder was an English aristocrat, related, it is believed, to Dr. William Holder, astronomer, author, prelate and Dean of Westminster, who married Susanna

Wren, sister of Sir Christopher Wren, the architect, who lies near him in St. Paul's. Christopher Holder in 1657 preached the simple life, charity, freedom, equality of man, peace, and the example of Christ in all things. Such, two and a half centuries ago, was the fourth great grandfather of Margaret Olivia Sage.

While the world was witnessing the excess of ritualistic form from Rome to London the Quaker ancestor of Mrs. Sage was preaching the peace that Mr. Carnegie is striving for; denouncing war from the standpoint of morality. There is not a great Christian virtue to the fore to-day that was not advocated by Christopher Holder and his Quaker brethren. He denounced slavery. He demanded simplicity, the simple life in dress and language. He called for truth, humility, a religion modeled after the lesson and example of Christ, liberty of speech, equality of men and women. Indeed there is not a noble sentiment advocated or commended to-day under the banner of Christ and modern intelligence that the Quakers had not thought of. They were two and a half centuries ahead of their time.

From the extraordinary nature of the philanthropy of Mrs. Sage, her life is well known. Her acts of intuitive benevolence, her extended philanthropy, her Christian charity and other characteristics which have endeared her to the American people, are doubtless derived, to a large extent, from her Quaker ancestry. One can scarcely conceive a more tender, or womanly heart, open wider to the real ills of humanity. I recall tenderness as a dominant trait among the old Friends or Quakers. If they thought in any way some one had been neglected, some one unjustly treated, they were unhappy until the facts were known. Tend-

erness, a strong inborn feeling that it was better to make a personal sacrifice rather than a mistake in giving or not giving. I believe this to be a dominant note in the life of the subject of this comment, who, so well illustrates in 1912 the Quaker idea of a practical following of Christ.

Before illustrating the great responsibilities of Mrs. Sage and the manner in which she has met them, the practical wisdom of her methods, I wish to refer again to her heredity, which is, I think, remarkable, if not unique, among American families. In a corner of the Crypt of St. Paul's London, I found Sir Christopher Wren's tomb, and above it the arms of and monument to Dr. William Holder and Susanna Wren Holder, his wife.

Mrs. Sage is a lineal descendant of Sir John Dryden, who married the daughter of Sir John Cope of Cannons Ashby, Northampton, England. Their son was Sir Erasmus Dryden, Baronet, who was grandfather of John Dryden, Poet Laureate of England in the Seventeenth Century. A sister of Sir Erasmus married the Rev. Francis Marbury, a distinguished English divine, whose daughter Katherine married Richard Scott (1630), later a famous Quaker of Providence, R. I., from whom are descended some of the most notable Americans, two of whom have been governors of Rhode Island. Mary Scott married Christopher Holder, the Quaker minister. And so we are led again to Peleg Slocum, the Quaker minister, who married Mary Holder, the third great grandmother of Mrs. Russell Sage.

The Drydens suggest intellectuality, and they produced many men and women who left their imprint in ineffaceable lines upon the pages of history in America and Great Britain. The Cope, Dryden, Marbury, Scott, Holder and

Slocum arms are all to be found in the English armorial records, and tell a fascinating story of deeds and loyalty, honorable service to king and nation.

To continue this analysis of heredity and character down through the centuries from the earliest known forebears of Mrs. Sage, brings a constant surprise because the traits of the Quaker are so clearly reflected in the mirror of her ancestry. Peleg Slocum, her third great grandfather, who married Mary Holder, was a distinguished Quaker minister. I recall seeing the Slocum arms in the Britism Museum with the motto *Vivit post fenera virtus* (Virtue outlives the grave). In the confirmatory deed of Governor William Bradford, Nov. 13, 1694, Peleg Slocum is named as one of the proprietors of Dartmouth. There is a record, 1698, of his building a meeting house "for the people of God in scorn called Quakers." His son Joseph, with his brother Holder Slocum, was named joint executor and became the owner of the island of Patience in Naragansett Bay—Mary Holder's dowry. Joseph Slocum married into one of the most distinguished families of Rhode Island, the Wantons. His wife was the daughter of Governor Wanton of Rhode Island, 1733-40, who was the immediate great grandparent of Mrs. Sage. Four members of the Wanton family became governors of Rhode Island: William, 1732, John, 1734; Gideon, 1745; Joseph, 1769. Portraits of some of them are to be seen in the Redwood Library, Newport, and copies are in the new state house of Providence. On the tomb of John Wanton, 1720, in the old north burying ground at Newport, is seen the arms of the family, the Wantons of County Huntington of England. "A mind conscious in itself of rectitude" is the motto.

All these Wantons are the descendants of Quakers, as Edward Wanton, the earliest known, lived in Boston in 1658. He was an officer and witnessed the death of the Quakers, Mary Dyer and William Robinson and the maiming of Mrs. Sage's ancestor, Christopher Holder. After listening to them he returned to his home and laid aside his sword with a vow never to wear it again. Soon after, he joined the Society of Friends as a convert of Holder and others. He aided in building the first Quaker meeting-house at Sandwich, and became a famous preacher. Col. John Wanton was a soldier in 1706, and performed many acts of valor, but in 1712 he joined the Society of Friends. His daughter Susanna married Joseph Slocum whose son married Hannah Brown, a member of a distinguished family whose names figure largely in the colonial history of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Their youngest son, Hon. William Brown Slocum, married Olivia Josselyn (1793), grandmother of Mrs. Sage. She had the poetic gift of her ancestors, the Drydens, and was a lineal descendant of Sir Gilbert de Jocelyn, an officer of William the Conqueror. A volume could be written regarding the place held in American history by this group of ancestors of Mrs. Sage. They took as their motto that of the Josselyn arms: "To do my duty." John Josselyn was an author, explorer, member of the court, councillor, 1639, Deputy Governor, 1648, magistrate; in fact filled about every office of importance in New England. Henry Josselyn married a Miss Stockbridge of a distinguished family of Huntingtongshire, England. It was Miss Stockbridge who gave the four silver communion cups to the Hanover Church in Massachusetts.

It is through the Josselyns that Mrs. Sage is descended from that famous figure in American history, Captain Miles Standish, of the "Mayflower;" and through him comes her right to membership in the Mayflower Society. Stockbridge Josselyn in 1768 married Olivia Standish, a lineal descendent of Miles Standish. Much could be written of this remarkable family which is known five hundred years previous to the appearance of Captain Miles Standish at Plymouth.

Other distinguished families among the forebears of Mrs. Sage are the Pierson and Jermain. The coat of arms of the Piersons indicates that it is of the same root and branch as that of the Dean of Salisbury.

One of the earliest known members was Richard Pierson of St. Mary's Aldemeary, who in 1540 married Elizabeth Church. Henry Pierson was one of the incorporators of the town of Southampton, L. I., by patent under Governor Andros, 1676, and many of the family held distinguished and responsible positions in state and county. The Hon. Joseph Slocum of Syracuse, married Margaret (Pierson) Jermain; Mrs. Russell Sage is a daughter. Major John Jermain, her grandfather, was a soldier of the Revolution, while her father, John Joseph Slocum, was one of America's distinguished and public-spirited citizens. In 1849 he was a successful merchant and a member of the Legislature. The Emperor of Russia requested him to establish agricultural schools throughout that country, which he did successfully. High intelligence, refinement, culture and a delicate sense of honor were some of his characteristics. Of his wife it was said:

"An Elect Lady by birth and environment, for the law of

the Lord governed the household into which she was born, and in this holy law she loved to meditate with an abiding trust in its promises, and a quick faith which never wavered, even when gathering years, with their varied experiences, brought their sorrows and perplexities. As a wife and mother, she ordered well the ways of her household. As a friend, she was loyal, and much given to hospitality, and fulfilled to her was the promise, "With long life will I satisfy thee." She was gifted with a peculiarly sweet and generous nature, for it was granted her to spend an honorable old age in the homes of her daughter and son, and to see growing up around her children's children of the third and fourth generation."

The mother of Mrs. Sage was a lineal descendant of the Huguenot family of Jermaines that settled in New Rochelle in early days. In their memory Mrs. Sage has presented to the New York Historical Society a beautiful memorial window entitled the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Major John Jermain, of Southampton, L. I., was a patriot of the Revolution, and an officer in the Westchester militia. He had command of a fort at Sag Harbor in the war of 1812. This gentleman married Margaret Pierson, a descendant of an old and prominent English family. The youngest child of Major John Jermain was Margaret Pierson Jermain, who married the Hon. Joseph Slocum. Their daughter Margaret Olivia Slocum married Russell Sage in 1869, one of the most brilliant men of his time or period, who came down from a distinguished ancestry which has been traced back to the time of the Conqueror. Russell Sage was a financial genius, one of the business pillars of the Republic; but he was also a statesman. He entered Cong-

ress in 1854, and his work for the suppression of slavery was far-reaching and epoch-making. Soon after his death Mrs. Sage organized the Russell Sage Foundation and gave it the sum of ten million dollars to be expended in "The improvement of social and living conditions in the United States of America."

The range of this extraordinary philanthropy is shown in the following from the charter: "It shall be within the purpose of said corporation to use any means which from time to time shall seem expedient to its members or trustees including research, publication, education, the establishment and maintenance of charitable and benevolent activities, agencies and institutions, and the aid of any such activities, agencies or institutions, already established."

In a letter to the trustees, written in 1907, Mrs. Sage defines her meaning clearly: "The scope of the Foundation is not only national, but it is broad. It should, however, preferably, not undertake to do that which is now being done, or is likely to be effectively done, by other individuals or other agencies. It should be its aim to take up the larger, more difficult problems, and to take them up so far as possible in such a manner as to secure cooperation and aid in the solution."

The Russell Sage Foundation of which Mrs. Sage is President, is fundamentally an educational institution. Its activities are on practical lines, and among its activities are many demonstrations of what can be done to improve social and living conditions; not only to improve these conditions directly, but to demonstrate in what directions other individual and organized effort can accomplish the best results. Some of its work is done directly by its own staff, some indirectly through other societies or institutions.

Illustrative of the former are its suburban development at Forest Hill, Long Island, including about 140 acres in area, which has been developed under the direction of Mr. Frederick Law Olmsted and Mr. Grosvenor Atterbury, and which is intended to provide homes at moderate cost on the smallest possible basis of initial and monthly payments; its establishment of a chattel loan society in New York, and its department of Child Helping, under Dr. Hastings H. Hart as Director, of Child Hygiene, under Dr. Luther M. Gulick as Director, and of Charity Organization Extension, under Miss Mary E. Richmond as Director.

Illustrative of the latter kind of activities is its work for the prevention of tuberculosis, in which it is acting through the National Society for the Prevention of Tuberculosis, the State Charities Aid Association in the State of New York outside of the City of New York, and in the City of New York through the Charity Organization Society in Manhattan and the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities in Brooklyn.

The wide scope of its field is well indicated by the titles of its publications:

"The Pittsburg Survey," a social study of a typical American Industrial City, in six volumes, including:

"Women and the Trades,"

"Work-Accidents and the Law,"

"The Steel Workers,"

"Homestead: the Households of a Mill Town,"

"The Pittsburg District,"

"Pittsburg: the gist of the Survey."

"Correction and Prevention," edited by Charles Richmond Henderon, Ph. D., including:

"Prison Reform,"

"Penal and Reformatory Institutions,"

"Preventive Agencies and Methods,"

"Preventive Treatment of Neglected Children."

"Juvenile Court Laws in the United States Summarized," by Hastings H. Hart, LL. D.

"Housing Reform," by Lawrence Veiller.

"Model Tenement House Law," by Lawrence Veiller.

"Workingmen's Insurance in Europe," by Lee K. Frankel and Miles M. Dawson.

"Wider Use of the School Plant," by Clarence Arthur Perry.

"Among School Gardens," by M. Louise Green, Ph. D.

"Laggards in Our Schools," by Leonard P. Ayres, Ph. D.

"The Standard of Living Among Workingmen's Families in New York City," by Herbert Coit Chapin, Ph. D.

"Civic Bibliography for Greater New York," by James Bronson Reynolds.

"One Thousand Homeless Men," by Alice Willard Solenberger.

"The Alms House," by Alexander Johnson.

"Handbook of Settlements," by Robert A. Woods and Albert J. Kennedy.

"Report on the Desirability of Establishing an Employment Bureau in the City of New York," by Edward T. Devine, Ph. D., LL. D.

How suggestive of the high plane and singleness of purpose which characterized the lives of the Quakers is the characterization of this work by one of the Trustees chosen by Mrs. Sage. He says: "It is with an eye single to the beneficent result to be accomplished, and with absolute disregard of the degree of credit which might come to the Rus-

sell Sage Foundation that the work has been carried on." So we see the Sage Foundation is, as has been well said, "A great clearing house of information."

The average citizen who sees the new interest in children's playgrounds that has taken the country by storm and which means so much to the coming men and women, may not identify Mrs. Sage with it, yet the Sage Foundation has made the most careful investigations into this subject, and, as a result, we have thirty elaborate pamphlets treating every phase of this important subject available for every school district in the world. The innate modesty of the Sage Foundation workers is ever present and ever suggestive of the plain and simple life of Friends who cared not for glory or fame. The Sage Foundation is often found standing behind some good project lending a helping hand, making a doubtful thing a success. This is well illustrated in the work for the blind done by the Foundation. In the summer of 1908 the work was carried on under the title of "The Committee of the New York Association for the Blind." There was no visible association with Mrs. Sage, yet hundreds of children were being saved from blindness by the Sage Foundation.

The Foundation in scores of ways stands behind the poor. In her walks on Long Island Mrs. Sage frequently talked to workingmen, who did not know her identity and so learned luminous facts about their condition. From such experience grew the idea of building practical homes for workingmen on Long Island. It was not a charity, but pure philanthropy with a judicious business basis behind it; so that no man lost his self-respect in taking advantage of what she offered. No purer or better aid to humanity can be conceived than this.

Mrs. Sage is revolutionizing the loan business and formulating a system all over the country to prevent the robbery of the poor. An extraordinary feature of her work through the Foundation is thoroughness. Not only is financial aid given where it is needed, but the Foundation works on the principle that if an object needs aid it should receive complete exploitation, so that the philanthropist of to-morrow or a century from now will have at hand full and complete data on the subject from every point of view. This is accomplished by the publication of books, and up to July, 1911, the Foundation has published nearly thirty voluminous volumes, forming a "growing library of prime importance to all interested in the social and economic aspects of modern life, based upon painstaking inquiries into conditions of life, labor and education by competent investigators."

The idea of this gentle descendant of Quakers is to make life worth living in the truest sense, to make it brighter, cheerier, make it worth while. She not only takes the light of religion into a poor man's home, but she aids the cheerful giver everywhere by telling him or her how to give and the exact conditions which prevail regarding the charity in view. Six or more books have been written on the City of Pittsburgh alone to alleviate the condition of men and women in cities of this kind. Under the head of Correction and Prevention are five volumes. Some of the titles are: Prison Reform; Penal Institutions; Preventive Treatment of Neglected Children; Cottage and Congregate Institutions. Then there are books on Housing Reform, a line in which Mrs. Sage is active. Four books are on Socialized Schools; three on Juvenile Courts, while others refer to the ideal

almshouse, homeless men, a study of one thousand cases; handbook of Settlements; Standard of Living among Workingmen and Women, how it can be raised; Workingmen's Insurance, etc.

One is amazed in contemplating the extraordinary diversity of this work. Apparently there is hardly a condition of the poor or of labor that has not aroused the interest and sympathy of this descendant of Quakers, who seeks with unerring wisdom and intuition the betterment of humanity.

Mrs. Sage has taken an especial interest in the blind. Possibly it will startle the reader to know that the State of New York alone has over six thousand blind persons more or less dependent upon it. Mrs. Sage discovered that of this army nineteen hundred and eighty-four had lost their sight unnecessarily, while six hundred and twenty were blind of a preventable disease. The influence of the Sage Foundation was directed in this direction, and a permanent committee appointed under Samuel E. Eliot who now conducts a national campaign for the prevention of blindness. Thousands of pamphlets were issued. Those having the care of infants were examined; and the subject investigated all over the nation.

I conceive one of the great results accomplished by the Foundation not the giving of money alone, but the public awakening, the creating of an interest in the subject among thousands in Europe and America. The Sage Foundation has aided the Red Cross, the Presidents Homes Commission, and the Child Saving Congress in Washington, and one has but to glance at the publications of the Charity Organization Department to see how earnestly, how thoroughly and



SIR JOHN LUBBOCK

conscientiously the work of investigation has been done. There are books on the "Dominant Note of Modern Philanthropy," "The Broadening Sphere of Organized Charity," "The Formation of Charity Organization in Small Cities," "Organization in Smaller Cities," "First Principles in the Relief of Distress," "Friendly Visiting," "The Interrelation of Social Movements," "Transportation, Agreement and Code," "The Real Story of a Real Family," etc. Then there is an Exchange Branch with its minor publications, in all of which, knowing the president of the Foundation, one sees her fine intelligence, her broad charity as the dominant chord. How can I make humanity better? is the question this descendant of Quakers is answering.

I am constantly reminded of the social life of the Quakers where the charity is so finely administered in the various communities that the objects of charity are not known to the public. The poor never lose their self respect. Their children are educated in schools side by side with the children of the rich and it is not known that they are being educated by the Society at large; they often do not know it themselves.

What Mrs. Sage's work means, especially the feature of investigation, and the resultant reports, can be appreciated by those who know that millions have been thrown away in America and England by false charity and ignorance regarding its proper administration. The Sage Foundation not only gives to charity intelligently, but it carries on a bureau of education for charity workers in the years to come and aids institutional and individual efforts over the breadth and length of the land. Every great fund for charity, every charitably disposed man or woman becomes the target

of professional criminals who pose as victims to the inevitable, deserving charity. In the years past thousands of these parasites have fed upon the charitably disposed, due to the lack of information and systematic method, fully supplied in these elaborate investigations designed to aid charity and those interested in it.

To intelligently aid communities, or correct errors in social centers, it is evident that complete knowledge of the conditions is essential. I find in this connection a most interesting book by Miss Byington, Association Field Secretary of the Sage Foundation Charity Organization, entitled, "What Social Workers should know about their own Communities." This volume indicates and suggests activities in hundreds of directions, showing the keen, intelligent direction that has marked every step in the work of Mrs. Sage. There is scarcely a field of education where the work is to fit the public for the struggle for existence in which her discerning mind is not seen. In the year 1907 Mrs. Sage gave one million dollars to the Emma Willard Seminary of Troy, N. Y., of which she is a graduate and also President of the Emma Willard Association. In the Troy Press of April 4, 1908, I find the following reference to this munificent donation to the uplift of the country:

"The broadside of beautiful buildings projected by the Emma Willard School, presented today, and made possible by the munificence of Mrs. Russell Sage, the most eminent graduate from this venerable, victorious and renowned institution, will be viewed with pleasure and pride by our people. This presentation is representative of an epochal change in the direction of development, and prophetic of an ample magnitude, which will assure the attainment of a col-

legiate classification in the near future. Incidentally this School will play its full part in making Troy one of the leading education centres of the country—a very valuable moral and material asset for any community. The cause of humanity is under heavy obligations to noble women of the type of Emma Willard and Mrs. Russell Sage, whose names will be inseparably interlinked in the progressive history of the Emma Willard School.”

One of the beautiful halls of this series is known as the Sage Hall, which “has all the essentials of a home for students,” in which the highest type of refined home life is cultivated. It is entirely separated from the other buildings, and, therefore, makes possible an atmosphere of quiet and rest.”

To the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute of Troy, Mrs. Sage has given one million dollars; an institution that well deserves the gift, having graduated a remarkable number of men who have become distinguished citizens. To one of the public schools of Sag Harbor, L. I., she gave \$115,000. To the Young Men’s Christian Association of New York \$350,000, and to the American Seaman’s Friend Society, \$150,000. To the Northfield, Mass., Seminary, an old and worthy institution, she gave \$150,000.

Mrs. Sage’s sympathy for indigent women found expression in a gift of \$350,000, toward a home for them, while a gift of \$100,000, to the University of Syracuse, is but one among many which she has personally made, and is still making, all marked demonstrations of the intelligent fulfillment of what to her is a sacred trust.

Among the gifts to the public made by Mrs. Sage are the Constitution Island opposite West Point, and gifts of art,

objects and collections to the great museums of the country; an illustration is the Vroman Ivories to the Metropolitan Museum. One of the latest is the church building given to the First Presbyterian Church of Far Rockaway, L. I., and dedicated as a memorial to her husband. As Dr. Pierson said of the beautiful window of this church, it has a three-fold offering: first, a tribute of a wife to a husband; second, a tribute of a church member to a house of God; third, a tribute of a Christian believer to her Divine Lord and Master. One might add a fourth, a gift to the whole people of a house of God."

The church stands on the highest land in Far Rockaway, and presents a noble appearance. It is cruciform in shape; and contains four hundred and thirty-six seats and has every facility for carrying on the work of the church. In various parts of the church the personality of Mrs. Sage is shown. Against the rear wall of the chancel and facing the congregation, is a large elaborately carved reredos of oak, upon which appear various symbols as follows: Near the top are twelve shields decorated in color bearing upon them the symbols of the passion of our Lord. Below these shields runs an inscription, chosen by Mrs. Sage and taken from the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew wherein is that wonderful picture of the Son of Man, sitting in glory upon His throne surrounded by His Holy Angels. The inscription is as follows: "Come ye blessed of my father, inherit the kingdom, for I was an hungered and ye gave me meat, I was thirsty, ye gave me drink; I was a stranger, ye took me in; naked, ye clothed me; I was sick, ye visited me; I was in prison, and ye came unto me."

The Tiffany memorial window in the church is one of the

best and most purely American windows ever seen in this country. Mrs. Sage suggested the motive, and as Mr. Tiffany said, "It is the symbol of Life, the soft meadows from which the tree has its birth, representing the earliest stages of life. Then as the roots and trunk grow, they reach out over the rocks of the hillside and the trunks become gnarled with age. But all through life it is lifting its branches toward the sky, the land of Promise."

This beautiful window, an inspiration in itself, recalled to Mrs. Sage the following poem which she selected for the purpose:

"Rose and amber around the sun,
 Lo, another day is done,
 And on the horizon's rim,
 Slumber the mountains, vast and dim;
 Thus in the embrace of waiting skies,
 Earth will rest 'till morning rise.

When the shadows fall for me,
 Love, my rose and amber be,
 And on life's horizon rim,
 Heavenly mountains slumber dim,
 Jesus, Savior, to Thy breast,
 Fold me then in perfect rest.
 Safe in shielding such as Thine,
 'Till the eternal morning shine."

Beneath the window is a brass tablet bearing the following inscription:

This Window is Erected
 in Memory of
 My beloved husband
 Russell Sage
 Margaret Olivia Sage
 In the year of our Lord 1909.

In attempting to sum up the effect of Quaker influence in the twentieth century through Mrs. Sage, who, on paternal and maternal sides, has come down from distinguished American Quakers, the pioneer of this movement in 1656, it is manifest that I cannot exhaust the subject here. I merely present the salient features, and am confident if the real and complete life of Mrs. Sage could be written it would be found that her private gifts, philanthropies and deeds of charity and goodness of which no one hears, would be in proportionate importance with those which are made public through the channel of the Sage Foundation and its various interests, previously mentioned. In riding with her one day we came to the gate of a park where the guards were old soldiers. As they saluted the kindly-faced gentlewoman, I fancied I knew what was passing in her mind,—a picture of the war of a nation and of the men who had helped to save it, the thought of all it meant finding expression in her face, a benediction to these two old soldiers. She stopped the carriage, handing a sum of money to them, and they were at attention saluting as she passed on. The act, spontaneous and unobtrusive, was a little one, but nothing could better illustrate the responsive, kindly, patriotic, appreciative nature of this fourth great granddaughter of Christopher Holder, the Quaker martyr; and of another grandsire, one Captain Miles Standish, who led the first Puritans on to the forest-lined shores of the American continent.

That Mrs. Sage represents in a marked degree the best elements of her distinguished ancestry, is evidenced by the opinions of many authorities and all who have been brought into contact with her. The author of an exhaustive work

on the Sage and Slocum families says: "She inherits, without doubt, the best traits of her distinguished ancestors whose personal history has already been given. Environment has been favorable to the development of these characteristics. Only those who have enjoyed the most intimate acquaintance with her could appreciate the qualities of mind and heart, and the noble qualities with which nature has endowed her. One of her closest friends, who, after referring to her ancestral line, says:

"From such a parentage it follows that Margaret Olivia Slocum was blessed with rare mental endowments and a harmony of character that have signally qualified her for an active and conspicuously useful career. With the wisdom of a Solomon, with the mature judgment of a Judge in Equity, and with a generosity that does credit to her heart as well as to her business sagacity, she has met and overcome the serious difficulties that beset her pathway. In her benefactions she has chosen wisely, and given where, in her opinion, the result of long experience, the greatest good could be accomplished; and it goes without saying, that in the future 'thousands will rise up to call her blessed.' In dealing with old employees of her husband, who had served him faithfully for many years, she generously doubled the amount of their salaries. No woman ever experienced in a greater degree the scriptural assurance that 'it is more blessed to give than to receive.' Her whole life has been spent in doing good and contributing to the happiness of others."

"Those who have known Mrs. Sage only as the gentle, sympathetic, Christian woman, could realize that she is a woman of indomitable will, fearless, and self-possessed, and equal to any emergency. Incidents in her life, known to only

a few of her most intimate friends, have proved this beyond question. In this respect she is one woman among a thousand."

This reference to Mrs. Sage as a descendant of Quakers and prominent Presbyterians in the last century, is not of course intended as a complete life of the subject, yet it will not be out of place to refer to her distinguished brother Col. Joseph Jermain Slocum, who served with honor and distinction throughout the Civil War. He married Miss Sallie L'Hommedieu. Col. Slocum had two sons, Col. Herbert Jermain Slocum, who graduated from West Point in 1872 and has served in the Spanish, Cuban and Indian Wars with distinction and credit to his ancestor Captain Miles Standish; the other son, Major Stephen L'Hommedieu Slocum, has an enviable record as an Indian fighter, having received his appointment at the hands of President Hayes for meritorious conduct as aide on the staff of Gen. Sturgis in the Indian campaign of 1878. His executive and diplomatic talents have made him particularly valuable to his country as military attaché at the Courts of St. Petersburg, Sweden and England. He was on the staff of Lord Roberts during the African War, and was sent to Africa on a secret and special mission which he carried out with signal credit and heroism.

In perusing the life of Mrs. Sage, as briefly outlined, no one can question that the American living descendants of pioneer Quakers are fulfilling the promise of their ancestors. It would be difficult to find a portion of the country that has not been benefited in some way by the benefactions of Mrs. Sage. The Willard School and the Institute of Technology have been referred to, and in 1909 Mrs. Sage gave to Princeton University a beautiful building surmounted by a



HOLDER TOWER

*Presented to Princeton University by Mrs. Russell Sage in Honor of
Her Fourth Great Grandfather, Christopher Holder (1656)*



HOLDER HALL

*Presented to Princeton University by Mrs. Russell Sage in Honor of
Her Fourth Great Grandfather, Christopher Holder (1656)*

tower, one of the most commanding and impressive piles connected with the University. This she gave as a memorial to her fourth great grandfather Christopher Holder. In the building is a tablet bearing the following:

HOLDER HALL

NAMED IN HONOR OF CHRISTOPHER
HOLDER A MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY
OF FRIENDS IN AMERICA IN THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. DEVOUT,
LOVING, LOYAL TO DUTY, PATIENT
IN SUFFERING. FOR THIS HALL
AND TOWER PRINCETON UNIVERS-
ITY IS INDEBTED TO HIS DESCEND-
ANT MARGARET OLIVIA SAGE—1909.

Mrs. Sage has always been interested in nature, and her contributions to the Central Park Garden are well known. A particular object of her regard has been the birds, and a number of Audubon Societies have benefited. As Vice-President of the Audubon Society of California, I received a sum from her in 1909 which enabled the Society to send a lecturer into the schools of the state to educate the coming citizens on the economic value of birds. Her greatest work in this direction was the purchase of a large tract of land in Louisiana in 1912, to be used in perpetuity as a bird preserve. No one who has not witnessed the wanton destruction of birds in the Gulf states can appreciate what this means. Mrs. Sage's gift means that the extinction of many birds is prevented, as without some refuge where birds can breed without interruption thousands will be slaughtered and the end soon come.

It is by such gifts as these that the subject of this chapter has received that which is beyond price, and which cannot be bought—the love, affection and profound respect of a great nation.

CHAPTER XV.

THE PURITAN INTOLERANTS.

In that portion of the Journal of George Fox relating to the year 1655, he writes, "About this time several Friends went beyond sea, to declare the everlasting truth of God." The Friends referred to were Mary Fisher and Ann Austin, who reached the island of Barbadoes in that year, this port being at the time one of the most convenient points from which to reach the American continent. Mary Fisher had been a minister since 1652, and had suffered much, having been confined in York Castle for nearly two years. She was one of the Friends who undertook to preach at Cambridge University, but on the order of the Mayor was, with others, "whipped at the Market Cross till the blood ran down their bodies." While suffering this terrible punishment in public, Mary Fisher was engaged in praying for her tormentors and asking forgiveness for them, much after the manner of the early Americans when they were burnt at the stake by the natives. Possessed of such an heroic character, Mary Fisher and her companion, Ann Austin, who was the mother of five children, were well calculated to assail the Puritans in their stronghold; and in 1656 they landed in Boston, being passengers from Barbados on the ship "Swallow," Simon Kempthorn, captain.

The appearance of two Quakers in the harbor of the Puritan colony occasioned something in the nature of a panic, and the officials decided to stop the movement then and there.

Deputy Governor Richard Bellingham gave orders that they should not be allowed to land. Their effects were searched and about one hundred Quaker books and pamphlets found, all of which were publicly burned at the market place by the hangman, despite the fact that Nicholas Upsall, an influential Puritan, attempted to buy them and offered five pounds for the privilege of speaking to the women. The case having been decided against them on the charge of being Quakers, the two women were brought ashore and committed to jail; deprived of all rights, stripped naked and searched for signs of witchcraft. Even the windows of their cell were boarded up, and a fine of five pounds established for the benefit of anyone who should have the temerity to speak to them.

After five weeks of this, the captain of a Barbados ship was put under bonds to deliver them at that port, and to allow no one to communicate with them. This was carried out, and so ended the first attempt of Quakers to land on American shores. The jailer took their Bibles and bedding in lieu of his fees, and Governor Endicott expressed his regret not having been in Boston at the time, as he should have given them a "whipping." The ship sailed for Barbados August 5th, and must have passed the "Speedwell," bound in from England, as she arrived on the 7th of August, 1656, with a party of Friends under the leadership of Christopher Holder of Alveston, a rich young Englishman, who, it is believed, was a large contributor to the expense fund of the expedition. His companions were John Copeland, Thomas Thurston, William Brend, Mary Price, Sarah Gibbons, Mary Weatherhead and Dorothy Waugh. Eleven weeks in jail, confiscation of property and return to England

was their fate at the hands of the Puritans; and as it is popularly supposed that the latter sought the shores of America to enjoy *religious liberty and freedom, it may be germane to the subject to glance at these dominant Englishmen, who were honestly panic-stricken by the appearance of a few men and women, whose message was so evidently peace and good will to men.

In the early Virginian settlement of Englishmen in America it was understood that the religion of the settlers should be that of the Church of England; but the rules were lax and the real attraction of New England to the Puritans was the possibility of religious life free from the supervision or jurisdiction of the king. In 1643, thirteen years before the arrival of the Quakers, Sir William Berkeley enacted laws to the effect that all religious instruction should be in conformity with the rules of the Church of England. This was followed by the banishment of the non-conformists.

*It should be remembered that the elastic term "religious liberty," used by the Puritans in the seventeenth century, had an entirely different interpretation than it has to-day. What the Puritans meant was, not that they desired to invite all religious sects to come and abide with them with equal liberty of conscience after the later Penn fashion; far from it. Their idea of liberty was to establish themselves so far from the Stuart king that they could live the religion they brought with them in peace and quiet. It is true the contrary is the popular belief, and it is true that the actual facts are that they came over to establish a theocratic state, where they could establish their own religion, a rational one for the time, and live it.

The coming of the Quakers forced them against their will to throw open America to true religious liberty, as we have and understand it to-day. If Winthrop and his followers had been able to look ahead and see the "religious liberty" the Quakers were to force on them, they, in all probability, would have remained in England and fought their ethical and other battles in their own land. This in justice to the Puritans.

Then came more liberty under the Protectorate; and then began a Puritan migration to America for the avowed purpose of seeking liberty of conscience, as they understood it. The Puritans were made up of all sects, men and women who desired peace and religious liberty, and the Puritan movement to America became of paramount importance. Non-conformists who had fled to Holland to escape persecution, Englishmen who resented the display of pomp and splendor of the church, its power and political influence, men and women who were anti-Papists and others all joined the movement, became Pilgrims and decided to sail for America.

An application for land had been made to King James; and while he refused to ignore the question of religion, he disposed of it diplomatically by saying to those who demanded the right to free religion, "If they demeaned themselves quietly, no inquiry would be made." This was held to be a sufficient guarantee for the Puritans, and in 1620 about one hundred persons, to be known later as the Pilgrim Fathers, landed at Cape Cod, after a voyage across the Atlantic of two months or fifty-six days.

Eight years after the arrival of the "May Flower" with Miles Standish and his friends, John Endicott arrived on the coast in the ship "Abigail." He had been an officer in the army; was a man of vigor, a severe disciplinarian, with a love of adventure, and was selected to head the party which was to represent a new colony of Puritans and to keep clear of the separatists of the Plymouth colony and various other settlements and grants which had been made by the Crown with more or less carelessness. In 1628 a tract of land was obtained from the New England Council ranging from three

miles north of the Charles River, Boston, to three miles north of the Merrimac. This was the width of the grant, but the length was another matter. It included the present seaboard of Charlestown, Nahant, Lynn, Salem, etc., west to the Pacific Ocean, taking in Cape Blanco and the adjacent California coast almost reaching to Salem, Oregon, not to speak of a part of Oregon, Nevada, Nebraska, Ohio, Illinois, New York and all the intervening land and later states—a noble grant, though it must be explained that the English supposed the Pacific coast to be somewhere west of where New York is at present. The entire region, two hundred and eighty-four years ago was absolutely unknown.

This territory was granted to six gentlemen representing the Puritans of whom John Endicott was one, and it is not necessary to point out that it conflicted with the Gorges, Mason and several other grants. Colonial history is filled with the contests of the Gorges and others, but the fact remains that Endicott and a party of sixty men in September 1628, made their headquarters at a point they named Salem, in token of their peaceful settlement with other claimants. It would seem that one object was the establishment of a trading company. The original object appears to have been to give the Puritans a base in the New World, while others again thought that the main object was to convert the savages. Be this as it may, Endicott proved to be an ideal pioneer. He cleared the land, leveled the forests, established himself and his backers, and in March 1629 a royal charter was secured and a corporation formed, known as the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England. The officers were a governor, deputy, and a council of eighteen assistants who were elected annually by the

Company. They made the laws so long as they did not interfere with England. No mention was made of religious liberty, and the Puritans were free to make such laws and regulations as suited themselves. It was a popular delusion that they established a colony which was to have absolute religious liberty. The toleration of the colony was the Puritan definition of freedom of conscience, something very different from that announced by William Penn when he founded Pennsylvania and threw open the doors of the colony to Jew and Gentile, Baptist, Quaker, Presbyterian, Papist or Church of England, assuring full rights and justice to all so long as they obeyed the laws.

It is only right to say that had Endicott and his friends demanded the inclusion of a clause assuring religious liberty to all in the new charter, the Crown would have refused it. But the guarantees did not ask for it and did not desire it. Ships and immigrants now sailed from England, Endicott became governor, and a great exodus to the colony began.

In 1630 a fleet of eleven ships and fifteen hundred Puritans arrived in America, and with them the entire Company with its court and charter. Endicott, who had done yoe-man's service, was now superceded by John Winthrop as governor—and retired to his Orchard Farm near Salem. In 1649 John Wintrop⁶ died, and John Endicott again became governor—an office he held for thirteen years. He was an intolerant of the intolerants, and the rumors which for some time had reached the colony about the Quakers and their doctrine of an inner light, filled him with disgust. John Norton, a religious fanatic, possessed of a "morbid fear of Satan," had taken Cotton's place, and did not fail to assure

Endicott that the Quakers were in league with the Evil One and were dangerous infidels. Cotton Mather added his testimony that the Quakers were in the habit of referring to the Bible as the "word of the devil."

With these and other charges the enemies of the Quakers filled the minds of the Puritans until many honestly believed that the Quakers were a dangerous menace, and prayed that they would be delivered from them as they had been from witches. In a word, Governor Endicott was not a tyrant. He was a valuable man to the new colony, but he conscientiously believed that the Quakers were a thinly-veiled disaster, a menace to the colony—a frame of mind which explains his future action.

Such was the situation in Massachusetts Colony when the first Quakers entered it. Some of them thought they were going to a land of freedom, when the truth was, the colony was for the Puritans and no one else, so far as religion and Calvinism was concerned.

Captain Miles Standish was a dominant factor in this party which in a few days again landed at a point they named Plymouth. The struggles and privations of these heroic men and women are well known facts of history. They were decimated by disease and by the Indians, who resented the invasion. The colony grew very slowly and when ten years had passed, there were but three hundred Separatists or Puritans in the Colony of New England. Among the early trials was the persistency of the leaders of the Church of England to control the colony, and dominate its religious policy. The Reformation was a wonderful uprising for good in England; but the Puritan movement was evidence that it did not result in the complete toleration

looked for; hence most of the emigrants who became Puritans were non-conformists, seeking complete freedom from intolerance; a fact which makes their attitude to the Quakers in 1656 and later, one of the extraordinary phases of modern Christianity.

As the Plymouth colony increased in size and wealth, the influence of the established Church became more insistent and pronounced. Bishop Laud was among the leaders as a protagonist of the principle that religious freedom in the colony was but the establishment of a dangerous precedent. I have dwelt upon this to illustrate the curious phase of doctrinal Christianity,—that a people striving to throw off an incubus deliberately refused to others the very charity or freedom they had demanded for years.

This Colonial Dissenter movement was at first favored by the government; it was well to get rid of these seventeenth century “cranks” and insurgents; but when the mother country was evidently threatened with depletion, an attempt was made to stop it.

Oliver Cromwell had decided to go to America, and it so happened that he embarked upon the first vessel to come within the ban of church and government. At one time eight ships filled with passengers, were lying in the Thames ready to sail when the order was given by the government to stop them; and with others, Cromwell was forced to relinquish his purpose and go ashore. This prohibition was but temporary, and within the next few years fifteen or twenty thousand English men and women Puritans found their way to America, with the avowed purpose of reaching a land where they could enjoy religious non-interference, if not political liberty. That they accomplished this desider-

atum is well known, and so far as religion was concerned they were practically undisturbed.

The natural sequence of such a consummation would be the establishment of the great principle of religious toleration, which is one of the pillars of the American Constitution to-day; but apparently this idea did not occur to them. They denounced Roman Apostacy, reviled the Church of England and its rites as remnants of Papacy, and established in the wilderness of America a system of non-conformist intolerance without equal in the history of the formative period of any nation. Not only this, they determined to resist to the bitter end any attempt to introduce any other belief on the ground that the imposition of "the common prayer worship" and other devices of the enemy, which they had left their homes to avoid, "would be a sinful violation of the worship of God." It appears that all the great religious reformations of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were handicapped or burdened by singular conditions that practically rendered them partly inoperative.

The Quakers weakened the force of their great message to the world by non-essentials, childish in their character,—as the wearing of hats and insistent use of 'thee' and 'thou;' while the Puritans, numbering among their body politic some of the finest men of the kingdom, the elements of a great and powerful nation, deliberately shut their eyes to the very principle of civic justice and righteousness they had claimed for themselves, raised aloft a banner of rank intolerance, and under the cry of 'New England for the Puritans,' built about themselves a wall of egotism and pedantry, and prepared to repel all alien sectarian assaults. This monumental bigotry found its first expression in the ship-

ping back to England of two members of the expedition of 1629, who had been appointed members of the Colonial Council. When it was discovered that the two unfortunates were Episcopalians they were arrested as spies, and sent to England in the first ship, their particular crime being that they had attempted to establish in this free land, and specifically in Salem, a church of their own belief.

John Fiske in his "Dutch and Quaker Colonies" thus defines the doctrinal difference between the religions of the Quaker and the Puritan: "The ideal of the Quakers was flatly antagonistic to that of the settlers of Massachusetts. The Christianity of the former was freed from Judaism as far as was possible; the Christianity of the latter was heavily encumbered with Judaism. The Quaker aimed at complete separation between Church and State; the government of Massachusetts was patterned after the ancient Jewish theocracy in which church and state were identified. The Quaker was tolerant of differences in doctrine; the Calvinist regarded such tolerance as a deadly sin. For these reasons the arrival of a few Quakers in Boston in 1656 was considered an act of invasion and treated as such." Such, very briefly described, was the situation in New England when the Quakers arrived in 1655-6. The Puritans were not taken by surprise. They had been warned and were cognizant of the campaign of George Fox in England, and as but one side of the history reached them, a Quaker was looked upon with horror, and as a menace to the new communities and settlements, a something to be kept out at all hazards, if the morals of the colony were to be preserved intact and inviolate. While Mary Fisher and Ann Austin brought the first Quaker documents to the colony, anti-

Quaker pamphlets had been freely circulated, and the public mind poisoned deeply and irrevocably. The Puritans saw Scylla and Charybdis in every suspect. Some of the literary assaults against the Quakers were remarkable in their ingenuity, and nearly all were written by distinguished non-conformists, many of New England, who really knew nothing of George Fox or of Quakerism. A typical pamphlet was by Francis Higginson. It was entitled, "A Brief Relation of the Irreligion of the Northern Quakers, 1653." Thomas Welde, who aided in the heresy trials of Anne Hutchinson, was the author of "The Perfect Pharisee under Monkish Holiness," also, "A Further Discovery of that Generation of men called Quakers," 1654. These pamphlets as well as the replies are among the literary curiosities of the seventeenth century, and an illustration of the latter is given in the appendix, by Christopher Holder.

As though to quicken the terror of the Puritans, they had just emerged from all the horrors of witch craft, the sister of Deputy Governor Bellingham having been executed as a witch but two years previous to the arrival of Mary Fisher and Ann Austin who would have been burned with their books had the gross and significant examination of their naked bodies by the authorities resulted in the discovery of any "signs" of a witch. Such was the situation in New England when the "Woodhouse" with Christopher Holder and his friends and fellow Quakers sailed toward the coast of New England in 1656. The Puritans believed them to be a menace to the salvation of mankind, and the inoffensive followers of George Fox were feared and dreaded as a pestilence, or as would have been a mad dog running amuck in a defenseless community.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE PIONEER QUAKERS IN AMERICA.

Cromwell was the uncrowned king of Great Britain when the first Quakers landed in America. Mary Fisher and Ann Austin, as we have seen, were carried from their ship to the jail, and later re-shipped to Barbadoes. The first direct expedition of a body of Quakers sailed into Massachusetts Bay the 9th of August, 1656. A facsimile of the shipping list in the possession of the author shows the following names as passengers on the "Speedwell":

Name	Residence	Age
Christopher Holder, "Q"	Winterbourne (9 miles from Bristol)	25
William Brend "Q"	London	40
John Copeland "Q"	Holderness	28
Thomas Thurston "Q"	London	34
Mary Prince "Q"	Bristol	21
Sarah Gibbons, "Q"	Bristol	21
Mary Weatherhead "Q"	Bristol	26
Dorothy Waugh "Q"	London	20
John Mulford		43
Richard Smith		4
Francis Brusley		22
Thomas Noyce		32
Martha Edwards		
Joseph Bowles		47
Lester Smith		24
C. Clarke		38
Edward Lane		36

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Name	Residence	Age
Theo. Richardson		19
John Earle		17
Thomas Barnes		20
Shadrack Hopgood		14
Thomas Goodnough		20
Nathaniel Goodnough		16
John Fay		8
William Taylor		11
Richard Smith		28
Muhulett Munnings		24
Margaret Mott		12
Henry Reeve		8
Henry Seker		8
John Morse		40
Nicholas Danison		45
John Baldwin		21
Rebecca Worster		18
Mary Baldwin		20
John Wiggins		15
John Miller		24
Thomas Howe		4
John Crane		11
Charles Baalam		18

The "Q" after the first eight names suggests that some official indicated them as Quakers, perhaps was forced to do so for the benefit of some of the authorities to whom he was obliged to report the character of emigrants. As soon as it became known that eight Quakers were in the harbor, a panic seized the Puritans; and according to Neal, the Historian, the Puritan magistrate took alarm as if the town

was threatened with some imminent danger." A special council was convened by Governor Sir John Endicott, and the trials and tribulations of the New England Quakers began.

The Council issued orders to search the boxes of the Quakers for "hellish pamphlets and erroneous books," and to arrest and bring them into court. This was accomplished the eight men and women being marched through a jeering, threatening crowd of superstitious citizens, not naturally vicious, but narrow as one could imagine; a people, many of whom had accepted witchcraft, and but recently passed through all the horrors of this strange and seemingly impossible delusion. The Quakers were marched into court, where they were examined as to their religious beliefs by Deputy Governor Bellingham, whose sister but two years previous had been executed as a witch, and several priests who had just officiated at the burning of the Quaker pamphlets and books in the public market.

The examination resulted somewhat disastrously to the Puritans, and the Quakers took advantage of it to expound their doctrines to the listeners. They made such progress, showing such complete familiarity with the Bible, that even the magistrate grew impatient, and asked one of the non-plused priests, "What is the difference between you and the Quakers?" It was too fine a point for magistrate or priest, and, with the admonition from Governor Endicott, "Take care that you do not break our ecclesiastical laws, for then you are sure to stretch by a halter," the Quakers were sent to jail and kept there for two months and a half. During this time various laws were enacted against them on the other hand and many sympathizers created, as the various

examinations of the terrible Quakers had demonstrated, to the more intelligent portion of the community, that they were a very harmless and spiritual-minded people, who should be treated with respect.

John Copeland and Christopher Holder made an immediate demand for release on the ground that there was no law for their retention; but the jailer showed them his orders:

"You are by virtue hereof ordered to keep the Quakers formerly committed to your custody as dangerous persons industrious to improve all their abilities to secure the people of this jurisdiction both by words and letters, to the abominable tenets of the Quakers and to keep them close prisoners, not suffering them to speak or confer with any person, not permitting them to have paper or ink.

Edward Rawson,
Secretary."

Aug. 18, 1656.

Boston."

Endicott well knew that he was acting on his own responsibility; but as the authorities had displayed some friendship for certain Quakers, he convened the council at the earliest possible moment, and secured the passage of the *first* anti-Quaker law in America. This was preceded by a letter addressed to "The commissions of the United Provinces," who were about to meet in Plymouth, in which Endicott recommended, "that some general rules may be commended to each general court to prevent the coming in amongst us from foreign places such notorious heretiques as Quakers, Ranters, etc." This resultant law read as follows:

"At a General Court held at Boston the 14th of October, 1656.

“Whereas, there is a cursed sect of heretics lately risen up in the world, which are commonly called Quakers, who take upon them to be immediately sent of God, and infallibly assisted by the Spirit, to speak and write blasphemous opinions, despising government, and the order of God in the church and commonwealth, speaking evil of dignities, reproaching and reviling magistrates and ministers, seeking to turn the people from the faith, and gain proselytes to their pernicious ways. This court, taking into consideration the premises, and to prevent the like mischief, as by their means is wrought in our land, doth hereby order, and by authority of this court, be it ordered and enacted, that what master, or commander of any ship, bark, pink, or ketch, shall henceforth bring into any harbor, creek or cove, within this jurisdiction, any Quaker or Quakers, or other blasphemous heretics, shall pay or cause to be paid, the fine of one hundred pounds to the treasurer of the country, except it appear he want true knowledge or information of their being such, and in that case he hath liberty to clear himself by his oath, when sufficient proof to the contrary is wanting; and for default of good payment, or good security for it, shall be cast into prison, and there to continue till the said sum be satisfied to the Treasurer as aforesaid. And the commander of any ketch, ship or vessel, being legally convicted, shall give in sufficient security to the governor, or any one or more of the magistrates, who have power to determine the same, to carry them back to the place when he brought them, and on his refusal so to do, the governor, or one or more of the magistrates, are hereby empowered to issue out his or their warrants, to commit such master or commander to prison, there to continue till he give in sufficient

security to the content of the governor, or any of the magistrates aforesaid. And it is hereby further ordered and enacted, that what Quaker soever shall arrive in this country from foreign parts, or shall come into this jurisdiction from any parts adjacent, shall be forthwith committed to the house of correction, and, at their entrance, to be severely whipped and by the master thereof to be kept constantly to work and none suffered to converse or speak with them during the time of their imprisonment, which shall be no longer than necessity requires. And it is ordered, If any person shall knowingly import into any harbour of this jurisdiction any Quaker books or writings concerning their devilish opinions, shall pay for such book or writings, being legally proved against him or them, the sum of five pounds; and whosoever shall disperse or conceal any such book or writing, and it be found with him or her, or in his or her house, and shall not immediately deliver the same to the next magistrate, shall forfeit or pay five pounds for the dispersing or concealing of every such book or writing. And it is hereby further enacted, That if any person within this colony shall take upon them to defend the heretical opinions of the Quakers, or any of their books or papers as aforesaid, if legally proved, shall be fined for the first time forty shillings; if they shall persist in the same, and shall again defend it the second time, four pounds; if, notwithstanding, they shall again defend and maintain the said Quakers' heretical opinions, they shall be committed to the house of correction till there be convenient passage to send them out of the land, being sentenced by the court of assistants to banishment. Lastly, it is hereby ordered, That what person or persons soever shall revile the persons of magistrates or ministers,

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As is usual with the Quakers, such person or persons shall be severely whipped, or pay the sum of five pounds.

This is a true copy of the court's order, as attests,

Edward Rawson, Secretary."

To emphasize the passage of this law, and render the position of the prisoners as disagreeable as possible, the cryer proceeded through the streets, led by a drum corps, and on the corners read the new law. As he reached the home of one Nicholas Upsall, the owner came out, and denounced it as an outrage. It was the same Upsall who endeavored to buy the books of the Quakers Mary Fisher and Ann Austin, and offered five pounds for the privilege of speaking to them. It was he who gave the jailer five schillings a week that he might provide the prisoners with food during their imprisonment. For this display of sympathy Upsall was taken before the magistrate, fined and banished from the colony. He made his way to Rhode Island and later joined the Quakers.

The Quakers in jail aroused much sympathy. Among their friends was Samuel Gorton, who had been banished from the Colony, and who now wrote the Quakers from Warwick, Rhode Island, offering them a shelter if they could escape. Gorton's plan was to have them sail for England, as though obeying the order of the court; but once outside the Cape the "Speedwell" was to be met by a vessel provided by Gorton, the Quakers transferred and taken to Rhode Island. The correspondence for which I am indebted to Norman Penny, is as follows:

“Correspondence of Christopher Holder and Others, Relating to Gorton’s Plan of Escape from Endicott’s Order of Banishment.”

“Extracts from the Appendix to Samuel Gorton’s “Antidote against the Common Plague of the World.” London, 1657. 4 to. Certain copies of letters which passed betwixt the Penman of this Treatise and certain men newly come out of Old England into New; who when they were arrived at Boston in the Massachusetts Bay, the Governor being informed they were such as are called Quakers, he sent Officers to fetch them ashore, and being forthwith brought into examination what their business was into these parts they answered, To Spread the Gospel, and to do the work of the Lord, whereupon they were all committed to prison both men and women, there to remain till the return of the Ships, and then to be carried back into England, the Master being bound in £500, with others for security with him to set them ashore in England againe, and that upon his own cost and charge lest the purity of the Religion professed in the churches of New England should be defiled with Errour.
(Barwick) Warwick, September 16, 1656.

The Superscription.

To the Strangers and out-casts, with respect to carnall Esrael, now in prison at Boston for the name of Christ, these with trust present in Massachusetts, New England.

Christian Friends,

The report of your demeanor, with some others of the same mind with you formerly put in possession of the place of your present abroad, as is reported to us, as also the errand you professe you come with into these parts, hath

much taken my heart so that I cannot withhold my hand from expressing its desires after you; which present habitation of yours, our selves have had a proof of from life grounds and reasons, that have possessed you thereof, under which in some measure we still remain in point of banishment, under pain of death, out of these parts, a prohibition from that liberty, which no Christian ought to be infringed of. And though we have a larger room in bodily respects, than for present your selves have, yet we desire to see the prison doors open before we attempt to go out, either by force or stealth, or by entreaty, which we doubt not but the bolts will fly back in the best season, both in regard of yourselves and us; but we apprise more of the appearance of an evident hand of God exalting himself in his own way, than we do of our bodily livelyhood, for we fear not the face of man, for God hath shewed us what all flesh is; otherwise we would visit you in the place where you remain, though we came unto you on our barefeet, or any that professeth the Lord Jesus, opposing his authority against all the powers of darkness. If God have brought you into these parts, as instruments to open the excellencies of the Tabernacle, wherever the Cloud causeth you to abide, no doubt but this your imprisonment shall be an effectual preface to your work, to bring the Gain-sayers to nought, which my soul waits for, not with respect to any particular man's person, but with respect unto that universall spirit of wickedness gone out into the world to deceive and tyrannize, and in that respect my soul saith, O Lord I have waited for thy salvation.

I may not presume to use a word of exhortation unto you, being I had rather (as having more need) to be admonished by you, not doubting but you are plentifully enabled to ad-

monish one another, let me make bold to say thus much to myself, Stand still, and behold the Salvation of the Lord; we are Persons lie here as buried unto the Sons of men, in a corner of the Earth, grudged at, that we have this present burying place. But our God may please to send some of his Saints unto us, to speak words which the dead hearing them shall live.

I may not trouble you further at this time, only if we knew that you had a mind to stay in these parts after your enlargement (for we hear you are to be sent back to England) and what time the Ship would set Saile, or could have hope the Master would deliver you, we would endeavor to have a Vessell in readiness, when the Ship doeth out of Harbour, to take you in, and set you where you may enjoy your liberty.

I marvel what manner of God your Adversaries trust in, who is so fearful of being infected with errour or how they think they shall escape the wiles and power of the Devill, when the arm of flesh fails them, whereby they seek to defend themselves for the present, sure they think their God will be grown to more power and care over them, in, and after death, or else they will be loath to passe through it; but I leave them, and in Spirit cleave unto him (as being in you) who is ever the same all sufficient.

In whom I am yours,

Samuel Gorton.

A copy of a Letter from the Men called Quakers.

The Superscription.

For our Friend Samuel Gorton, this deliver.

Friend,

In that measure which we have received, which is etern-

all, we see thee, and behold thee, and have onenesse with thee, in that which is meek and low, and is not of this world, but bears witnessse against the world, that the wayes and works thereof are evill; and in that meek and lowspirit we salute thee, and owns that of God in thee which is waiting for, and expecting the raising of that which is under the Earth, and in the Grave, groaning for the removing of the stone which the wise professors hath and doth lay upon, that it might not come forth, but the time is come and coming, for the Angell of his presence to take away that which hinders, that the Prisoner may come forth, and arise to the glory of him, who is raised up to the glory of the Father, and hath overcome Hell and Death, and all the Powers of darkness, and is a spreading his name forth to the ends of the Earth, and hath sounded his Trumpet in these parts also, and is a beginning his war with Ameleke and the Philistines, and Egyptians, in this part of the world, who are set and setting themselves against the Lord in this the day of his mighty power, wherein he will exalt the horn of his anointed, and bring down all the fat kine, and Bulls of Bashan, whose eyes are ready to start out with rage and madnesse, against that which is become as a burthensome stone amongst them, and is that stone which will break all their imaginaries in pieces and shall become a great mountain, which shall bring down the stout hearts of the Kings of Assyria, and all their high looks, and level their mountains of wisdom and knowledge, and dry up the tongue of the Egyptian Sea, and shall make way for the ransomed of the Lord to come to Sion with joy and gladness, being redeemed from kindreds, Nations, Tongues, and People, by the blood of Jesus, which is spirit and life, in all those that obey the

light, which from the life doth come, for the life is the light of men, and whosoever believes in the light, which they are enlightened with shall not abide in darkness, but shall have the light of life, which light we have obeyed in coming into these parts, and we do witnesse the life in the measure given to us, whereby we are enabled to encounter with Principalities and Powers, and wickedness in high places, and can deny the world and the glory of it, and take up his Crosse dayly, and follow him; in which we witness the power of God, whereby the World is crucified unto us, and us unto the World; and in that, in our measure we deny ourselves, and can wait in the eternall counsell which is out of time manifested in time, not being hasty, but let thee Lord alone to do his own work, in his own way, and there can sit down in our rest, which is his will, and when he moves us, then we go and do his will in his power, and when he clouds we stand still waiting for the removing of the Cloud, and so we know when to journey and when not, and herein are we at rest when our Adversaries are in trouble, and in Egyptian darkness, fitted and prepared for destruction, which assuredly must fall upon them, from the God of Justice.

Friend, the Lord hath drawn forth our hearts, to this place in much love, Knowing in the light, that he hath a great seed among you, though scattered up and down, and are as sheep without a Shepherd, and you are travelling from Mountain to Hill in your wisdom and imaginations, the resting place being not yet known, nor cannot be known by the highest wisdom of the world, but in the denial of it, for there is something underneath, which is not, nor cannot be satisfied with all the divings into the mystery of things declared in the Scriptures of truth, which is the man

of God's portion, and was given to that to profit withal, that it might be thoroughly furnished to every good word and work, but this is too low a thing for those which are high in their wisdom and knowledge, which they can hardly stoop unto, that is to be come fools, that they may be wise, that the pure wisdom may dwell with them for evermore.

But the Lord is come, and coming to levell the Mountains, and to send the Rocks of wisdom and Knowledge, and to exalt that which is low and foolish to the wisdom of the world, and blessed shall thou, and all those be, who meets him in this his work, which he is doing in the Earth, and in this place wherein thou now dwellest, in setting up the King the Lord of Hosts to reign in righteousness, for his Tabernacle shall be among men and he will dwell in them, and walk in them, and he will be their God, and they shall be his people from henceforth even for ever. Now to that which thou writes to us, to know our minds to stay in these parts, we are unwilling to go out of these parts, if here we could be suffered to stay, but we are willing to mind the Lord, what way he will take for our staying, and if he in wisdom shall raise thee up, and others for that end, we shall be willing to accept of it; but what the Master of the Ship will do in the thing we know not, they endeavoring to force him to enter into bond of 500l to set us ashore in England, which he did at first refused, for which they sent him to prison without bail and Mainprize, as we are informed; but since he doth proffer his own bond but they will not at present accept it without security besides to be bound with him, for they are affraid that we should be set ashore in these parts again, therefore they make their Bond as strong as they can, but the Lord knows a way to break their

bonds asunder. The Master hath been writ unto and warned that he should not enter bond, which if he did not, it would be as a Crown of honor upon his head but if he doth, the Lord knows how to defeat them and him too. Now what he doth is out of a slavish fear, because he would not lie in prison, and hinder his voyage, but if the bond hinder him not, he would have been willing to have delivered us, and we should have been willing to have satisfied him, which we did proffer him; and if he be not hindered, the ship will be ready to set sayl about fourteen days hence, but at present the Master doth not know what to doe, their demands being so unjust, to force him to carry us and they not pay him for it, nor we shall not and yet will not take his own bond, but will have security besides, so that he and they are troubled with a burthensome stone, the ARK of God doth afflict them, send it away they would, but yet they are not agreed what to do with it; so we shall leave them to be guided by that wisdom, which governs all men and things, according to the counsel of his own will, and bringeth his purpose to passe by whom and in whom he pleaseth.

From the Servances and Messengers of the Lord whom he hath sent and brought by the arm of his power into these parts of the world, for which we suffer bonds and close imprisonment, none suffered to speake or confer with us, nor scarce to see us, being locked up in the inward prison, as the Gaoler pretends, because we do not deliver our Ink-horns, although he hath taken away three from us already, and will not suffer us to burn our own candles, but takes them away from us, because we shall not write in the night, though we are strangers to thee, and others in this place,

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yet seen and known in the light, yet known in the World by these Names.

From the Common Gaol
in Boston this 28 of the
seventh, 1656.

William Brend
Thomas Thurston
Christopher Holder
John Copeland.

Post. We and all the rest of friends with us remember their love to thee, and if thou hast freedome let us heare from thee.

Barwick in the Narhyganset-Bay this present October 6, 1656.

The Superscription.

To the Strangers, suffering imprisonment in Boston for the name of Christ, these with trust present in Massachusetts.

Loving Friends,

We have thankfully received your late and loving letters, but are informed that since the penning of them the Master of the Ship is engaged with two of Boston bound with him, to set you ashore in England, so that we perceive God hath diverted our desired designe, we doubt not but for the best in a further discovery of that spirit so wickedly bent to hinder (if it were possible) the fruitful progress of the grace of the Gospel, and it may be, the name given unto you (we know not upon what ground) may come through in unalterable appointment, to be the naturall practice of such as so deal with you when the terrours of the Almighty shall take hold of them.

Then follow some sixteen pages in which detailed references to the Friends' letter are made and general approval

is given to the religious views expressed. Gorton concludes:

But I am afraid of being over tedious unto you, yet you may please to see my freedome again to salute you, by the multiplications of my lines, and the rather because I perceive the ingagement for your return so speedily to England and know not whether we shall ever come to speak mouth to mouth, or find a way and opportunity again to write: I hope it will not be burthensome to you to peruse this, no more than it would be to me, to peruse a larger Epistle coming from your selves. And so with my hearty respects unto you all, I cease to trouble you further at this time.

Remaining yours, as you are Christ's,

Samuel Gorton.

This plan to obtain their release failed, as Captain Locke was placed under a bond to deliver them in England, and lacked the courage to disobey. The "Speedwell" sailed for England August 6th, 1656. She was not much larger than a modern smack, high-pooped, slow and uncomfortable, and of about sixty tons burden, yet she carried the little band to England where Christopher Holder and his five comrades at once began to devise some plan to return to America.

Through the good offices of Gerard Rodgers, a Friend named Robert Fowler of Holderness was found who had just completed a vessel, and who agreed to undertake the dangerous experiment. The craft was named "The Woodhouse" and she set sail on the 1st of April, 1657, with the following Quakers: Christopher Holder, William Brend, John Copeland, Sarah Gibbons, Mary Weatherhead, Dorothy Waugh, Robert Hodgson, Humphrey Norton, Richard Doudney, William Robinson and Mary Clark. The

"Woodhouse" was a small coaster about the size of the Speedwell. Her crew consisted of three men and three boys, who had a hazy knowledge of navigation at best; yet she reached New Amsterdam (New York) in a little less than two months after sailing.

In Devonshire House, London, may be seen the original log of this extraordinary voyage, countersigned by George Fox; extraordinary, as the ship was not sailed by compass, as the captain was not a navigator. He knew that America lay some three thousand miles to the west, and that it would take him about two months to beat over to it. What he lacked in knowledge of navigation he made up in faith. This lack of knowledge did not disturb the Friends.

They were on a mission of the Lord, were in His hands. Every day they held a meeting and requested guidance, and from this source, Captain Fowler laid his course. On the fiftieth day the "Woodhouse" sailed into Long Island Sound. The following is a verbatim copy of this log:

The Log of the "Woodhouse."

"A true relation of the voyage undertaken by me, Robert Fowler, with my vessel the 'Woodhouse,' but performed by the Lord like as he did Noah's ark wherein he shut up a few righteous persons and landed them safe even at the hill Ararat.

"Upon the first day of the *fourth month, called June*, received I the Lord's servants aboard, who came with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm with them; so that with courage we set sail, and came to the Downs the 2nd day, where our dearly beloved William Dewsbury, with Mich. Thompson, came aboard, and in them we were much re-

freshed; and, after recommending us to the grace of God, we launched forth.

Again reason entered upon me, and thoughts arose in me to have gone to the Admiral, and have made complaint for the want of my servants, and for a convoy, from which thing I was withholden by that Hand which was my helper. Shortly after the south wind blew a little hard, so that it caused us to put in at Portsmouth, where I was furnished with a choice of men, according to one of the Captain's words to me, that I might have enough for money; but he said my vessel was so small, he would not go the voyage for her.

Certain days we lay there, wherein the ministers of Christ were not idle, but went forth and gathered sticks, and kindled a fire, and left it burning; also several Friends came on board and visited us, in which we were refreshed. Again we launched from thence about the 11th day of the Fourth Month, and were put back again into South Yarmouth, where we went ashore, and there in some measure did the like. Also we met with three pretty large ships which were for the Newfoundland, who did accompany us about fifty leagues, but might have done 300, if they had not feared the men-of-war; but for escaping them they took to the northward, and left us without hope of help as to the outward; though before our parting it was showed to Humphrey Norton early in the morning, that they were nigh unto us that sought our lives, and he called unto me and told me; but said, 'Thus saith the Lord, ye shall be carried away as in a mist;' and presently we espied a great ship making up towards us, and the three great ships were much afraid, and tacked about with what speed they could; in the very in-

terim the Lord God fulfilled his promise, and struck our enemies in the face with a contrary wind, wonderfully to our refreshment. Then upon our parting with these three ships we were brought to ask counsel of the Lord, and the word was from Him, 'Cut through and steer your straightest course, and mind nothing but me;' unto which thing He much provoked us, and caused us to meet together every day, and He himself met with us, and manifested himself largely unto us, so that by storms we were not prevented (from meeting) above three times in all our voyage. The sea was my figure, for if anything got up within, the sea without rose up against me, and then the floods clapped their hands, of which in time I took notice, and told Humphrey Norton. Again, in a vision of the night, I saw some anchors swimming about the water, and something also of a ship which crossed our way, which in our meeting I saw fulfilled, for I myself, with others, had lost ours, so that for a little season the vessel run loose in a manner; which afterwards, by the wisdom of God, was recovered into a better condition than before.

Also upon the 25th day of the same month, in the morning, we saw another great ship making up towards us, which did appear, far off, to be a frigate, and make her sign for us to come to them, which unto me was a great cross, we being to windward of them; and it was said, 'Go speak to him, the cross is sure; did I ever fail thee therein?' And unto others there appeared no danger in it, so that we did; and it proved a tradesman of London, by whom we writ back. Also it is very remarkable, when we have been five weeks at sea in a bark, wherein the power of darkness appeared in the greatest strength against us, having sailed but 300 leagues,

Humphrey Norton, falling into communion with God, told me that he had received a comfortable answer; and also that about such a day we should land in America, which was even so fulfilled. Also thus it was all the voyage with the faithful, who were carried far above storms and tempests, that when the ship went either to the right hand or to the left, their hands joined all as one, and did direct her way; so that we have seen and said, we see the Lord leading our vessel even as it were a man leading a horse by the head; we regarding neither latitude nor longitude, but kept to our Line, which was and is our Leader, Guide, and Rule, but they that did failed.

Upon the last day of the Fifth Month, 1657, we made land. It was part of Long Island, far contrary to the expectations of the pilot; furthermore, our drawing had been all the passage to keep to the southwards, until the evening before we made land, and then the word was, 'There is a lion in the way;' unto which we gave obedience and said, 'Let them steer northwards until the day following;' and soon after the middle of the day there was a drawing to meet together before our usual time, and it was said, that we may look abroad in the evening; and as we sat waiting upon the Lord they discovered the land, and our mouths were opened in prayer and thanksgiving; and as our way was made, we made towards it, and espying a creek, our advice was to enter there, but the will of man (in the pilot) resisted; but in that state we had learned to be content, and told them both sides were safe, but that going that way would be more trouble to him; also he saw after he had laid by all night, the thing fulfilled.

Now, to lay before you, in short, the largeness of the wis-

dom, will and power of God. Thus, this creek led us between the Dutch Plantation and Long Island, where the movings of some Friends were unto, which otherwise would have been very difficult for them to have gotten to; also the Lord that moved them brought them to the place appointed, and led us into our way, according to the word which came unto Christopher Holder, 'You are in the road to Long Island.' In that creek came a shallop to meet us, taking us to be strangers, we making our way with our boat, and they spoke English, and informed us, and also guided us along. The power of the Lord fell much upon us, and an irresistible word came unto us, That the seed in America shall be as the sand of the sea; it was published in the ears of the brethren, which caused tears to break forth with fulness of joy; so that presently for these places some prepared themselves, who were Robert Hodgson, Richard Doudney, Sarah Gibbons, Mary Weatherhead, and Dorothy Waugh, who the next day were put safely ashore into the Dutch Plantation, called New Amsterdam. We came, and it being the First day of the week several came aboard to us, and we began our work. I was caused to go to the Governor, and Robert Hodgson with me—he was moderate both in words and actions.

Robert and I had several days before seen in a vision the vessel in great danger; the day following this, it was fulfilled, there being a passage betwixt two lands, which is called by the name of Hell-gate; we lay very conveniently for a pilot, and unto that place we came, and into it were forced, and over it were carried, which I never heard of any before that were; (there were) rocks many on both sides, so that I believe one yard's length would have endangered loss

of both vessel and goods. Also there was a shoal of fish which pursued our vessel, and followed her strangely, and close by our rudder; and in our meeting it was shown me, these fish are to be to thee a figure. Thus doth the prayers of the churches proceed to the Lord for thee and the rest. Surely in our meeting did the thing run through me as oil, and bid me much rejoice.

Robert Fowler.

Endorsed by George Fox,
R. Fowler's Voyage, 1657."

CHAPTER XVII.

FOUNDING THE FIRST SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN AMERICA.

Of the eleven Friends who reached America in the "Woodhouse" in 1657, five decided to begin their labors in New York, or New Amsterdam, as it was then called, and two, Christopher Holder and John Copeland, feeling an unmistakable call from God to proceed to Boston, from which the former had been banished, landed at Martha's Vineyard. In one of John Copeland's letters, which has been preserved, he says, "I and Christopher Holder are going to Martha's Vineyard in obedience to the will of God which is our joy." They landed first at Providence, and preached at various towns; then on the 16th of June visited Martha's Vineyard which was then occupied by the Algonquin Indians. The Puritans had established a mission here, which according to the custom of the time, was a public "steeplehouse." This was in charge of a minister named Mayhew. The two missionaries were now again in the enemy's country, from which they had been summarily banished but a year before, and were liable to arrest at any moment. Even the fisherman who transported them from the mainland was in grave danger for aiding and abetting them. They attended the service of Mayhew, and when he had concluded Christopher Holder arose and addressed the meeting, saying that they brought the Word as understood by the Friends, and were messengers bearing God's love to their brethren in America. The English Friend had not proceed-

ed far, when, at the order of the minister, a constable seized him, and, thrusting him violently from the church, bade him remain there and cease his heretical language. But, believing that they were directly called, the missionaries refused, and joined the congregation in its afternoon meeting; when the clergyman had ended the service, they again attempted to speak, and had some controversy with the congregation on doctrinal points. They were not molested, but during the evening certain citizens entered a complaint against them, and the following morning the governor, with a constable, called and demanded why they were there. The reply was because they were obeying the will of God. At this the governor laughed, and answered, "It is the will of God that you both leave today. I have provided a native to carry you across; pay him and go your way."

But the missionaries were not to be discouraged; they believed it was their duty to remain, so they refused to facilitate their eviction by paying their fare to the Algonquin or to leave the island. Their refusal to go, and their perfect confidence in the position they had taken, dumfounded the governor, who, after expostulating with them, ordered the constable to search them and take the passage money by force. During the struggle the natives took sides with the two defenseless Quakers, and refused to be a party to their enforced departure. The governor was nonplused, and, as the weather was stormy, and none of the Puritans would put to sea with the Quakers, he left them where they stood, ordering that no one should give them shelter.

He did not count on the Algonquins, as these intelligent natives invited the Quakers to their village, and entertained them with every kindness for three days; and when they

took their departure finally, asking the Indians to transport them to the mainland, the latter refused to accept the slightest reward. The chief replied to Christopher Holder's offer of money in a manner that showed that these rude natives were princes when hospitality was concerned. "We wish no pay," said the Algonquin; "you are strangers, and Jehovah has taught us to love strangers." "These poor people," says Sewell, the Dutch Historian, "acted more in unison with the spirit of Christianity than those who were wont to be their teachers, declining to receive their reward."

The Algonquins landed Christopher Holder and his companion on the mainland near Barnstable in safety, and they began the march across the barren country. In 1657 Indians were almost the sole occupants of the forest, and between Martha's Vineyard and Plymouth there were but two English settlements—Sandwich and Falmouth. The men must have had sublime faith, as there were no roads, no signs to direct the wayfarer; only a trackless forest. They knew the general direction, and, with blankets and the food provided by the Indians, they began the walk to Sandwich where they hoped to have a meeting. In due time they arrived, passing over the long stretches of sand dunes, finally reaching Sandwich. At this time the town was represented by a collection of log houses in one of which the wanderers found shelter, soon learning that religious intolerance had created unrest in the town, and that some of the people were eager for the new word which they brought. Sewell says: "Their arrival at this place was hailed with feelings of satisfaction by many who were sincere seekers after heavenly riches, but who had long been burdened with a lifeless ministry and dead forms of religion."

It will be remembered that these were the first school meetings held in New England by Quakers. The previous year Christopher Holder and his friends had indeed reached Boston, but they spent the eleven weeks in jail; hence Sandwich became the first field for the Friends in the Colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts.

The memory of Christopher Holder is still kept green by the descendants of his original converts. The meetings were held in the homes of those who were willing to have them. The people were eager for the word, and in a short time the efforts of the eloquent preacher were repaid by the accession of eighteen families to the ranks of the Friends. But Sandwich was no exception to the rule of intolerance which held in the colony at that period. Endicott and Norton had emissaries even here, who were familiar with the laws which had been enacted the preceding summer for the eviction or banishment of Christopher Holder and his companions, and when the rumor was circulated that two prominent English Quakers had arrived, and were preaching, they were at once denounced and a constable was sent to arrest them.

The Friends were holding a meeting in the home of a convert named Allen—whose descendants still reside in Sandwich—when some one warned them of the threatened danger. The house stood near some high, deeply-wooded hills, and to these the little congregation adjourned their meeting, that the services might continue, and that Christopher Holder and his friend might escape arrest and consequent indignities. Reaching the hilltop, they looked down into a deep and beautiful glen or hollow, which seemed to invite them to its leafy seclusion, and, pressing on, these

earnest fugitives from religious intolerance made their way through the thicket and came to a level spot by the side of a little stream, beneath the blue sky, surrounded by masses of luxuriant verdure, Christopher Holder and his young friend, John Copeland, conducted a meeting which so impressed these converts that to this day, two hundred and fifty-seven years later, his personality clings to the spot, which is known all through Barnstable county and New England, as "Christopher's Hollow."

The attention of the author was first called to this fact some years ago by the late Emily Holder Howe, then residing in Boston, a descendant of Christopher Holder, who sent the following version, written by a resident of Sandwich:

"About a mile southwesterly from Spring Hill village is a deep sequestered glen or hollow in the wood. No spot in the county of Barnstable is more secluded or lovely. The quiet glen is surrounded by a ridge of hills, covered in part by trees, and is some one hundred and twenty-five feet deep. In the spring and summer a small stream of water runs in this glen, which keeps up a perpetual murmur. For over two centuries this lovely spot has been called 'Christopher's Hollow,' in memory of Christopher Holder. On an August day in 1657, after the severe penal act of the provincial legislature had passed, a small, sincere band of worshippers met at Allen's house, Spring Hill, but immediately adjourned to the hollow to offer up devout supplication to Him who is no respecter of persons. Those who visit this place will notice on the westerly side a row of flat stones, which are believed to have been the seats upon which this meager congregation sat and listened to the heartfelt teachings of Christopher Holder, a sincere and upright man."

On the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Sandwich—1639-1889—a poem was written and read by Miss Mary A. D. Conroy, of Roxbury, in which Christopher's Hollow is referred to. Some of the lines are as follows:

“Their meeting place—a sylvan glen,
 Environed by protecting trees.
 Here, far removed from curious eyes,
 Their God they worshipped silently.
 Their choir the myriad song birds were;

Their hassocks stones; the mossy sward
 Beneath their feet their carpet was.
 An azure ceil, the sky above.
 No temple made by mortal hands
 Could rival this in loveliness.”

To Sandwich belongs the honor of being what may be termed the pioneer Quaker town in America. Here events rapidly occurred which were especially epoch-making. Here, Christopher Holder and John Copeland, of Holder-ness, formed the first Society of Friends on this continent, established the first meeting, received the first welcome and planted the first seed from which sprang one of the most remarkable religious organizations in America—remarkable not for its spectacular features or for its pretentious doctrines, but for its purity, its absolute disinterestedness and its near approach to that highest standard of moral perfection expressed by the life and teaching of the founder of the Christian religion.

That Governor Endicott and the Puritan priests—Norton and others of Boston—intended to create a virtual

reign of terror in the ranks of the people they derisively termed Quakers, there is no possible question. To accomplish this they appointed officials in every town to watch for them; hence the meetings in Sandwich could not be concealed, nor was it the desire of Christopher Holder to preach in secret. He boldly proclaimed his mission. Norton, in his "Ensign," says, "Great was the stir and noise of the tumultuous town," "Yea, all in an uproar, hearing that we, who were called by such a name as Quakers, were come into these parts. A great fire was kindled, and the hearts of many did burn within them, so that in the heat some said one thing, and some another, but the most part knew not what was the matter."

So great was the agitation among the Puritan settlers that the two ministers took up their packs and began the march over the then almost trackless country to Plymouth, where they announced their coming by rising in the "ordinary" or public church, after the service and preaching. Some of the Puritans endeavored to stop them; others were inclined to argue and dispute, while many were desirous of hearing them. But the priests led the clamor so successfully that the authorities ordered them to leave the colony of Plymouth. A large and threatening crowd gathered, but the Friends informed them that they could not leave the colony until they had made another visit to Sandwich; in a word, refused to go and demanded the nature of the charges against them. The constable allowed them to pass to their lodgings unmolested, but their enemies held a meeting at night, and on the following morning the ministers were arrested and taken before the magistrates and questioned. But the authorities could find no reasonable excuse for com-

mitting them to prison, and so compromised by discharging them and ordered them "to begone out of their colony;" a mandate the Friends refused to obey.

They left Plymouth, but turned in the direction of Sandwich, a fact that was soon reported by some who followed, and a constable was sent after them, who forced them to walk six miles or more in the direction of Rhode Island and then left them, whereupon the ministers turned soon after and walked to Sandwich to complete their labors. Their re-appearance, and the fact that they had made many converts, roused the priests, and they demanded that the Quakers be arrested. This was carried out, and in a few days they were again taken before the magistrate at Plymouth, charged with being "ranters and dangerous persons."

This time the governor of Plymouth examined them in person, and again "no infraction of the law was found against them;" yet, to silence the clamor aroused by the Puritan priests, they were ordered to leave the colony. Sewell says: "It appears that the gospel ministry had been instrumental in convincing many at this place of the principles of Friends, a circumstance which increased the alarm of the priests, who now exerted their utmost to procure their banishment. The urgent appeal was effective, and the governor, to satisfy them, issued a warrant for the arrest of Christopher Holder and John Copeland as extravagant persons and vagabonds, to be brought before him at Plymouth." It is at this time that we observe the first intervention of Friends, and here began the series of outrages against sympathizers with the Quakers that constitutes so black a page in New England history. Some of the meetings at Sandwich had been held at the home of William

Newland, a zealous convert. Between him and the harassed ministers there had sprung up a warm and devoted friendship, and when the latter were arrested and were apparently to be condemned without a hearing, William Newland sprang to his feet in the crowded court room and insisted that Christopher Holder's demand for a copy of the warrant under which they were deprived of their liberty should be complied with, protesting that it was illegal and an outrage against justice not to accede to his request. The governor was indignant at this bold partisanship, and forthwith fined the brave Newland ten shillings and severely rebuked him.

Christopher Holder and his friend were now arraigned before the court of Plymouth, the priests appearing against them, and again the magistrates informed them that there was a law forbidding them to remain in the colony. To this Christopher Holder replied that, "being in the Lord's service, he could not promise to leave." Highly incensed, the officers issued a warrant for their expulsion, and told them that if they returned again they would be whipped as vagabonds." The following is a copy of this warrant, taken from the colonial records, dated at Plymouth, August 31, 1657:

"To the Under-Marshal of the Jurisdiction of Plymouth,
"Whereas, there hath been two extravagant persons, professing themselves Quakers, at the town of Plymouth, who, according to order, may not be permitted to abide within the liberty of this jurisdiction. These are therefore in the name of his business, the Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to will and command you forthwith, on receipt hereof, to convey the said persons, viz., Christopher

Holder and John Copeland, unto the utmost bounds of our Jurisdiction. Whereof fail not at your peril."

In accordance with this, the under-marshal marched them five miles in the direction of Rhode Island, and left them in the forest, without food or shelter. Rhode Island at this early time afforded refuge to the oppressed, and the two men were welcomed in that colony.

Holder has been criticised by some historians, who have attempted to defend Endicott and the inquisitors of the time, who have said that to enter the churches of the Puritans, and address the congregations and endeavor to make converts, was little less than an outrage, and was sufficient reason for the outbreaks against the Quakers. These writers are, to say the least, ignorant of the methods and customs of the day. After the service of the priest, anyone was allowed to speak, and Christopher Holder merely took advantage of this custom. John Cotton, a Puritan pastor of Boston, thus described the degree of liberty allowed in 1657, as quoted by Bowden: "When there be more prophets as pastors and teachers they may prophesy two or three, and if the time permit the elders may call any other of the brethren, whether of the same church, *or any other*, to speak a word of exhortation to the people, and for the better edifying of a man's self, or others, *it may be lawful for any (young or old) save any women to ask questions at the mouth of the prophets.*"

In 1643 the following declaration of the faith and order of the Baptist and Congregational churches was issued, which bears upon the point at issue:

"Although it is incumbent upon the pastors and teachers of the churches to be instant in preaching the word, by way

of office; yet the work of preaching the word is not so peculiarly confined to them, but that others also gifted and filled by the Holy Spirit for it, and approved, being by lawful ways and means in the providence of God called thereto may, quickly, ordinarily and constantly perform it, so that they give themselves up thereto."

Robert Barclay states that the English Independents "also go so far as to affirm that any gifted brother, as they call them, if he finds himself qualified thereto, may instruct, exhort and preach in the church." Cromwell, in 1650, threw open the pulpits of the rigid Presbyterian Church to "all intruders," and, when protest was made, he replied: "We look upon ministers as helpers of, not lords over, the faith of God's people. Where do you find in Scripture that preaching is exclusively your functions? Are you troubled that Christ is preached? Doth it scandalize you, the reformed churches and Scotland in particular? Is it against the Covenant? Away with the Covenant, if it be so! I thought the Covenant and these men would have been willing that any should speak good of the name of Christ; if not, it is no covenant of God's approving, nor the kirk you mention, the spouse of Christ." (Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, by Thomas Carlyle, Vol. I, p. 61.) It is on record that, in 1656, Dr. Gunning, afterward regius professor of Divinity at Cambridge and bishop of Ely, went into the congregation of John Biddle, the father of English Unitarians, and began a dispute with him. George Fox was a frequent visitor at the "steeplehouse." On very rare occasions he imitated the example of the bishop, but it was his custom to wait quietly until the minister had ended, when he would often be invited to speak.

From this it will be seen that it was a custom of the time for any gifted man to rise and preach in a "steeplehouse" after the regular service had ended, and Christopher Holder was but following an established precedent when he entered the public places of worship in Plymouth and Massachusetts colony and preached to the people upon the completion of the service.

There is no reliable evidence in Colonial History that any Friend ever made an attempt to disturb a Puritan meeting in a riotous fashion. It was the strong undercurrent of religious intolerance which cropped out among the Puritans at the slightest innovation in religious forms and belief, that caused the trouble. The Puritans are popularly supposed to have come to America to enjoy "religious liberty," but they absolutely refused others participation in the divine right. Bowden says: "A strong and deep conviction was vested in their (Friends) minds that the prevailing religious systems were essentially opposed to the pure and spiritual religion of Christ. They were not less fully persuaded of this, nor, it may be added, on less substantial grounds, than John Huss, or Martin Luther was of the anti-Christian character of the Romish church. They believed themselves called upon to testify, 'in the name of the Lord,' against a system which contained so woful an admixture of human invention."

This is referred to, that the remarkable persistence of these ministers in returning to the fields from which they had been driven may be understood; briefly, they exemplified the highest type of missionary fervor, and sacrificed themselves on the altar of their convictions, acts which, it

may be said, were not peculiar to Friends at this and previous periods.

The colony of Rhode Island, from the very first distinguished for its tolerance, afforded a literal haven for the hunted Quakers in the following days. Christopher Holder and John Copeland made many converts in Sandwich and Plymouth, and were spreading the Word in the colony of Rhode Island so rapidly that the priests and rulers in Boston became alarmed, and so worked upon the superstitious fears of Governor Endicott that he entered a vigorous protest.

So thoroughly had the doctrine of the Friends been disseminated that liberal Puritans were joining their ranks everywhere, and even as early as August, 1657, the Friends constituted a "party," small and insignificant numerically, strong in fearlessness and faith, opposed to which were those fighting for the ascendancy of Puritan orthodoxy. On one side was Governor Endicott, the priests, magistrates and authorities; on the other, Christopher Holder, John Copeland, who believed they were called to a duty from which there was no turning. Legions they had none; their human support, their converts, and a few Friends in Plymouth and Sandwich. But, as these leaders moved on, converts seem to have sprung up in their path like wheat after the sower, and as the missionaries announced their intention of going to Boston, it is not surprising that the report caused no small degree of alarm and excitement. Bowden says: "In their (Puritan) estimation it was an evil of such magnitude, and so fraught with danger to the true interests of that religion for which they and their forefathers had suffered, as to require counteracting measures of a very decided character."

This took the form of a movement to compel the colony of Rhode Island to join with Massachusetts in driving out Holder and Copeland, and, on September 12, 1657, the commissioners of the United Colonies addressed the following letter to the governor of Rhode Island:

“Gentlemen:—We suppose you have understood that the last year a company of Quakers arrived in Boston, upon no other account than to disperse their pernicious opinions, had they not been prevented by the prudent care of the government, who, by that experience they had of them, being sensible of the danger that might befall the Christian religion here professed, by suffering such to be received or continued in the country, presented the same unto the Commissioners at the meeting in Plymouth; who, upon that occasion, commended it to the general courts of the United Colonies, that all Quakers, Ranters, and such notorious heretics, might be prohibited coming among us; and that if such should arise amongst ourselves, speedy care might be taken to remove them; (and as we are informed) the several jurisdictions have made provisions accordingly; but it is by experience found that means will fall short without further care by reason of your admission and receiving such, from whence they may have opportunity to create in amongst us, or means to infuse and spread their accursed tenets to the great trouble of the colonies, if not to the . . . professed in them; notwithstanding any care that hath been hitherto taken to prevent the same; whereof we cannot but be very sensible and think no care too great to preserve us from such a pest, the contagion whereof (if received) within your colony, were dangerous to be diffused to the others by means of the intercourse, especially to the places of trade amongst us;

which we desire may be with safety continued between us; we therefore make it our request, that you and the rest of the colonies, take such order herein that your neighbors may be freed from that danger. That you remove these Quakers that have been received, and for the future prohibit their coming amongst you; whereunto the rule of charity unto yourselves and us (we conceive) doth oblige you; wherein if you should we hope you will not be wanting; yet we could not but signify this our desire; and further declare, that we apprehend that it will be our duty seriously to consider, what provision God may call us to make to prevent the aforesaid mischief; and further for our further guidance and direction herein, we desire you to impart your mind and resolution to the General Court of Massachusetts, which assembleth the 14th of October next. We have not further to trouble you at present, but to assure you we desire to continue your loving friends and neighbors the Commissioners of the United Colonies.

“Boston, September 12th, 1657.”

This letter was submitted by the governor of Rhode Island to the Court of Trials, held at Providence, August 15th following, and the reply is a credit to the intelligence and discernment of the followers of Roger Williams and the people of Rhode Island. The colony refused point blank to be a party with Endicott to the abridgement of the religious liberty of any citizen. The law of their colony was “that none be accounted a delinquent for doctrine” (Enactment of 1641), and that “they had resolved that no settler or stranger within the limits of their jurisdiction should be persecuted for whatever opinions of religion he might either hold or teach.” This was the tenor of their immediate

verbal reply to Endicott's messenger. The official and well-written answer was not given until January, 1658, a reproof in itself. The reply is as follows:

"From the General Assembly to the Commissioners of the United Colonies.

"Honoured Gentlemen,—There hath been presented to our view, by our honoured president, a letter bearing date September 25th last, subscribed by the honoured gentlemen, Commissioners of the United Colonies, concerning a company of people (lately arrived in these parts of the world), commonly known by the name of Quakers; who are generally conceived pernicious, either intentionally, or at leastwise in effect, even to the corrupting of good manners, and disturbing the common peace, and societies, of the places where they arise or resort unto, &c.

"Now, whereas freedom of different consciences, to be protected from enforcements was the principal ground of our charter, both with respect to our humble suit for it, as also the true intent of the honourable and renowned Parliament of England, in granting the same unto us; which freedom we still prize as the greatest happiness that men can possess in this world; therefore, we shall, for the preservation of our civil peace and order, the more seriously take notice that these people, and any other that are here, or shall come among us, be impartially required, and to our utmost constrained to perform all duties requisite towards the maintaining the dignity of his highness, and the government of that most renowned Commonwealth of England, in this colony; which is most happily included under the same dominions and we are so graciously taken into protection thereof. And in case they, the said people, called Quakers,

which are here, or shall arise, or come among us, do refuse to submit to the doing of all duties aforesaid, as training, watching, and such other engagements as are upon members of civil societies, for the preservation of the same in justice and peace; then we determine, yea, and we resolve (however) to take and make use of the first opportunity to inform our agent residing in England, that he may humbly present the matter (as touching the considerations premised, concerning the aforesaid people called Quakers), unto the supreme authority of England, humbly craving their advice and order, how to carry ourselves in any further respect towards those people—that therewithal there may be no damage, or infringement of that chief principle in our charter concerning freedom of conscience. And we also are so much the more encouraged to make our addresses unto the Lord Protector, for highness and government aforesaid, for that we understand there are, or have been, many of the aforesaid people suffered to live in England; yea, even in the heart of the nation. And thus with our truly thankful acknowledgements of the honourable care of the honoured gentlemen, Commissioners of the United Colonies, for the peace and welfare of the whole country, as is expressed in their most friendly letter, we shall at present take leave and rest. Yours, most affectionately desirous of your honors and welfare,

“John Sandford,

“Clerk of the Assembly.”

“From the General Assembly of the Colony of Providence Plantation,

“To the much honoured John Endicott, Governor of Massachusetts. To be also imparted to the honoured Com-

missioners of the United Colonies at their next meeting; these."

The General Assembly of Rhode Island, feeling that it was being criticised for extending toleration to the Quakers, considered it advisable to acquaint their representatives in England with the situation, and the following is an extract from the letter:

"The last year we had laden you with much employment, which we were then put upon, by reason of some too refractory among ourselves; wherein we appealed unto you for advice, for the more public manifestation of it with respect to our superiors. But our intelligence it seems fell short, in the great loss of the ship, which is conceived here to be cast away. We have now a new occasion, given by an old spirit, because of a sort of people, called by the name of Quakers, who are come amongst us, and have raised up divers, who seem at present to be of their spirit, whereat the colonies about us seem to be offended with us, because the said people have their liberty amongst us, as are entertained into our houses, or into our assemblies. And for the present, we have no just cause to charge them with the breach of the civil peace; only they are constantly going forth among them about us, and vex and trouble them in point of their religion and spiritual state, though they return with many a foul scar on their bodies for the same. And the offense our neighbors take against us is, because we take not some course against the said people, either to expel them from among us, or take such courses against them as they themselves do, who are in fear lest their religion should be corrupted by them. Concerning which displeasure that they seem to take it was expressed to us in a solemn letter,

written by the Commissioners of the United Colonies at their sitting, as though they would bring us in to act according to their scantling or else take some course to do us greater displeasure. A copy of which letter we have herewith sent unto you, wherein you may perceive how they express themselves. As also we have herewith sent our present answer unto them, to give you what light we may in this matter. There is one clause in their letter, which plainly implies a threat, though covertly expressed:

“Sir, this is our earnest and present request unto you in this matter, as you may perceive in our answer to the United Colonies, that we fly, as to our refuge in all civil respects, to his highness, and honourable council, as not being subject to any others in matter of our civil state; so may it please you to have an eye and ear open in case our adversaries should seek to undermine us in our privileges granted unto us, and to plead our case in such sort as we may not be compelled to exercise any civil power over men’s conscience, so long as human order, in point of civility, are not corrupted and violated, which our neighbors about us do frequently practice, whereof many of us have large experience, and do judge it to be no less than a point of absolute cruelty.”

The labors of Christopher Holder at this time were the cause of much excitement, and as he moved northward this increased, culminating in acts which disgrace the pages of Colonial history. It would appear that, in passing from Sandwich, Holder and Copeland held services and made converts in all the towns—Plymouth, Duxbury, Mansfield, Dedham, Charleston, Cambridge and Lynn—and about the 15th of July they reached Salem. Christopher Holder was invited to make his home during his visit at the house of

Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick, an act of hospitality which ultimately caused the death of these sincere Friends in their banishment to Shelter Island.

The two missionaries held a series of meetings and made many converts in Salem. From Norton's "Ensign" this joint reference is made to their ministry here: "Having obtained mercy from God and being baptized in his covenant Jesus Christ, we (Christopher Holder and John Copeland) preached freely unto them the things we had seen and heard, and our hands had handled, which as an engrafted word took place in them, such as never can be routed out, so that our hearers in a short time became our fellow sufferers." On the 21st of July, 1657, Christopher Holder entered the First Church of Salem, which it is supposed by some, now stands in the rear of Essex Institute. Holder listened to the sermon, and when the priest had concluded and the time had arrived for laymen to speak, if they so desired, he rose and addressed the congregation. His fame had preceded him, and many desired to hear him; but Salem was the home of Governor Endicott, the hot-bed of irrationalism, and the priest uttered so vigorous a protest that his partisans were aroused to "much fury," and as Holder disregarded the interruptions and continued, one of the commissioners sprang forward, seized him by the hair and jerked him violently backward, at the same time attempting to force a handkerchief or a glove into his mouth.*

*What Christopher Holder said history has not preserved, but on a similar occasion in England, George Fox entered a church, sat down and listened. The rector announced his text: "Ho, Everyone that thirsteth, come ye, buy without money and without price." This was too much for the militant Fox; rising he cried out, "Come down, thou deceiver! Dost thou bid people to come to the waters of life freely and without price and yet thou takest three hundred pounds a year from them?"

This sudden and cowardly attack from behind aroused intense excitement. The members of the congregation started to their feet, some protesting, others encouraging the commissioner, who dragged the unresisting Quaker toward the door, still endeavoring to choke him. Believing that Holder was in danger of his life, one man braved public sentiment and barred the way, tearing the commissioner's arm from the minister's throat, and vigorously protested against the injustice of the "furious" action of the commissioner against a defenseless man. This was Samuel Shattuck, of Salem, whose descendants still live there, and who are by marriage connected with the descendants of Christopher Holder in the present century. This incident is dwelt upon by all contemporary and later writers—Norton, Bishop, Sewell, Bowden, Whittier and others, hence has attained historical significance, and was the beginning of a series of outrages which disgraced New England during the following years. So intense was the feeling aroused against Samuel Shattuck for attempting to defend Christopher Holder that he was arrested at once, on the charge of being "a friend to the Quakers." Holder was also arrested, and the following day they were sent to Boston. They were examined separately, Bellingham, deputy governor, and Rawson, Endicott's secretary, examining Holder, while the elder and deacon of the place examined Shattuck, hoping to detect them making different statements. "But," wrote the prisoners, "we, abiding in the truth, spake one thing, so that they had no advantage against us, neither could take hold of anything we had spoken."

Bellingham, disappointed at not tripping them, said "that their answers were elusive, and that the devil had

taught them a deal of subtilty." Christopher Holder and John Copeland were now brought before Governor Endicott, and, after the farce of a trial had been undergone, they were sentenced according to the laws which had been passed for their benefit the previous year, to "receive thirty lashes." The sentence was carried out on Boston Common, the public executioner being the agent. The prisoners' backs were bared and their arms bound to a post. The executioner, in the language of Bishop, used a three-corded knotted whip, and to make sure of his blows, measured his ground "and fetched his blows with all his might." Thirty stripes were given, until the backs of the men were cut and streaming with blood that made them horrible spectacles, yet not a groan or word of reproach came from their lips. So terrible was the punishment inflicted that the spectators were horrified, and one woman, according to Sewell, "fell as dead." "Torn and lacerated," says Bowden, "they were conveyed to their prison cell. Here, without any bedding, or even straw, to lie upon, the inhuman gaoler kept them for three days, without food or drink, and in this dismal abode, often exposed to damp and cold, were these faithful men confined for the space of nine weeks." "We may wonder," continues Bowden, "that under such aggravated cruelties their lives were spared, but He for whose holy cause they thus suffered was near at hand to support and console them. His ancient promise was fulfilled in their experience, and they rejoiced in the comforting assurance of His living power."

Such were the conditions of religious liberty in Boston two hundred and forty-five years ago. Samuel Shattuck was imprisoned, but was finally released on giving a bond of twenty pounds to answer the charge, "and not to assemble

with any of the people called Quakers at their meetings." We next hear of him as a convert to the doctrine of the Friends, and he became a staunch friend of Christopher Holder. I found his grave in the Salem, Charter Street, burying ground, and upon the ancient, half-buried headstone is the following inscription, which I copied from the records of inscriptions in the Boston Library:

"Here lyeth buried ye body of Samuel Shattuck aged 69 years, who departed this life in ye sixth day of June 1689. He was present at ye Friends meeting when Christopher Holder attempted to speak, and he endeavored to prevent their thrusting a handkerchief into Holder's mouth lest it should have choked him, for which attack he was carried to Boston and imprisoned until he had given bond to answer at the next court and not to come to any Quaker meetings."

Alarmed at the rapid increase among the Friends, the priests and others went to the greatest extremes to arouse public prejudice against the prisoners. They endeavored to inflame the public by stating that Christopher Holder and his friend were possessed with devils, and the most exaggerated stories were related by talebearers and gossipmongers of the city, much to their discredit, resulting in arousing the masses against them. Bowden says: "The distorted views of Quaker tenets, which were industriously circulated throughout New England in justification of the cruelties practiced, could scarcely fail to produce such a result. In the American colonies, as well as in England, calumny and misrepresentation were too generally favorite weapons of the enemies of the Society."

While lying almost helpless in jail, Christopher Holder replied to the charges of the enemies of Friends in a docu-

ment* that, in its dignified language and its fervor and spirit, takes place as the most prominent document issued in America up to this time. It was the religious declaration of independence of America, and, singularly enough, recalls the famous political document issued in 1776. Bowden says: "The document issued, an imperfect copy of which has been preserved, is rendered the more interesting as being, it is believed, the first written exposition of the doctrinal views of the Society, and containing, as it does, clear evidence of the soundness of the views of our early Friends, it is additionally valuable."

Richard Doudney's name appears on this document. He had left his companions in New Amsterdam, and had decided to join Copeland and Holder, and had reached Dedham when he was apprehended as a Quaker, sent under guard to Boston, and thrown into jail with them; and so became a signer to the first declaration of faith, either in England or America. The declaration is as follows:

"A DECLARATION OF FAITH,

And an exhortation to Obedience thereto, issued by Christopher Holder, John Copeland and Richard Doudney, while in prison at Boston in New England, 1657.

"Whereas, it is reported by them that have not a bridle to their tongues, that we, who are by the world called Quak-

*As the original Declaration of the Society of Friends (the first in New England being dated 1657) this is a most interesting and valuable historical document. The author regrets that all efforts to obtain the original have failed. The latter document in some way found its way into the hands of a distant relative of Gould Brown, of Lynn, whose ancestors were Friends of Pembroke, Plymouth Co., Mass., and through him a copy reached Bowden, the historian, to whom the author is indebted.

ers, are blasphemers, heretics, and deceivers; therefore, we, who are here in prison, shall in a few words, in truth and plainness, declare unto all people that may see this, the ground of our religion, and the faith that we contend for, and the cause wherefor we suffer.

“Therefore, when you read our words, let the meek spirit bear rule, and weigh them in the balance equal, and stand out of prejudice, in the light that judgeth all things, and measureth and manifesteth all things.

“As (for us) we do believe in the only true and living God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath made the heavens and the earth, the sea and all things in them contained, and doth uphold all things that he hath created by the word of his power. Who, at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in times past to our fathers, by the prophets, but in these last days he hath spoken by his Son, whom he hath made heir of all things, by whom he made the world. The which Son is that Jesus Christ that was born of the Virgin; who suffered for our offenses, and is risen again for our justification, and is ascended into the highest heavens, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father. Even in him do we believe; who is the only begotten Son of the Father, full of grace and truth. And in him do we trust alone for salvation; by whose blood we are washed from sin; through whom we have access to the Father with boldness, being justified by faith believing in his name. Who hath sent forth the Holy Ghost, to wit, the Spirit of Truth, that proceedeth from the Father and the Son; by which we are sealed and adopted sons and heirs of the kingdom of heaven. From the which spirit, the Scriptures of truth were given forth, as, saith the Apostle Peter, ‘Holy men of God

spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.' The which were written for our admonition, on whom the ends of the world are come; and are profitable for the man of God, to reprove, and to exhort, and to admonish, as the Spirit of God bringeth them unto him, and openeth them in him, and giveth him the understanding of them.

"So that before all (men) we do declare that we do believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, according as they are (declared of in the) Scriptures; and the Scriptures own to be a true declaration of the Father, Son and Spirit; in (which) is declared what was in the beginning, what was present, and was to come.

"Therefore, all (ye) people in whom honesty is, stand still and consider. Believe not them who say, Report, and we will report it—that say, Come, let us smite them with the tongue; but try all things and hold fast that which is good. Again we say, take heed of believing and giving credit to reports; for know that the truth in all ages of the world, hated, persecuted, and imprisoned, under the name of heretics, blasphemers, and"

(Here part of the paper is torn off, and it can only be known, by an unintelligible shred, that fourteen lines are lost. We read again as follows:)

"that showeth you the secrets of your hearts, and the deeds that are not good. Therefore, while you have light, believe in the light, that ye may be children of light; for, as you love it and obey it, it will lead to repentance, bring you to know Him in whom is remission of sins, in whom God is well pleased; who will give you an entrance into the kingdom of God, an inheritance amongst them that are sanctified. For this is the desire of our souls for all that have the

least breathings after God, that they may come to know Him in deed and in truth, and find his power in and with them to keep them from falling, and to present them faultless before the throne of his glory; who is the strength and life of all them that put their trust in Him; who upholdeth all things by the word of his power; who is God over all, blessed for ever. Amen.

“Thus we remain friends to all that fear the Lord; who are sufferers, not for evil doing, but for bearing testimony to the truth, in obedience to the Lord God of life; unto whom we commit our cause who is risen to plead the cause of the innocent, and to help him that hath no help on the earth; who will be avenged on all his enemies, and will repay the proud doers.

“Christopher Holder,

“John Copeland,

“Richard Doudney.

“From the House of Correction the 1st of the Eighth Month, 1657, in Boston.”

The Puritans wasted no sympathy on the Quaker men or women. When Mary Clark reached Boston in 1657 she was arrested, stripped of her clothing and given “twenty strokes with a three-corded whip laid on with fury,” after which she was kept in a cold, damp cell for three months. Richard Doudney, one of the “Woodhouse” passengers, was sent from Dedham to Boston and given thirty lashes to remind him that Quakers were not welcome. Humphrey Norton demanded an examination, which was given him, and he so cleverly stated his case and that of the Quakers that, notwithstanding the bias of Endicott, the magistrates found him guilty of no crime, so they compromised by banishing

him, an officer marching him fifty miles in the direction of Rhode Island, where he found John Copeland and Sarah Gibbons.

A party now came from the Barbados, including John Rous, the son of an officer of the army, William Leddra and Thomas Harris. Humphrey Norton was a prisoner in New Haven, and was gagged in court with a large iron key when he attempted to explain his case. After a trial of many days he was found guilty of being a Quaker and sentenced to be first given thirty-six stripes, stripped in the stocks, which he bore with such courage that a mob threatened to interfere and the officers looked at the Quaker with amazement and some with fear, as while he was covered with blood and cut with deep gashes, he made no complaint, telling the jailer that "his body was as if it had been covered with balm." After this, they fastened his hands in the stocks and denouncing him as a heretic, branded him with the letter H, the victim in the meantime praying for his accusers. They now offered to free him, if he would pay the expenses of his arrest; but Norton refused, saying that if it were but two pence, he would not pay it, nor would he allow anyone else to do so, as he was an innocent man, and had committed no crime. Norton was finally banished and went to Rhode Island to report the first persecution of Friends in Connecticut. John Rous and Norton then went to Plymouth and began to preach, but were at once thrown into prison, and later flogged like convicts. This treatment did not deter others, in fact it seemed to encourage them to greater endeavor, and soon William Brend, Mary Dyer and Mary Weatherhead entered New Haven, only to be forced out at the point of the pike.

John Rous and John Copeland now visited New Haven and sought out the Governor, John Winthrop, and attempted to discuss the question with him. As a result, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Plymouth and New Haven, the principal colonies, joined in a pact to fight the Quakers, making a common cause of the invasion.

In 1658, William Leddra and Thomas Harris walked to the colony of Connecticut, while Sarah Gibbons and Dorothy Waugh proceeded to Massachusetts, walking every step, through what was then an Indian-infested wilderness, without trail or road. So it will be seen that by some arrangement the Quakers were continually invading the closed colonies. When one set or pair were banished, another presently took its place, covering the ground as completely as they could. Thomas Harris was being starved in Boston jail. On the sixth day he was given twenty strokes with a tarred rope and discharged. This punishment, with such variety as the jailer could invent, was given to every Quaker arrested or found in the colony. William Brend, an aged man, was given horrible treatment, repeated beatings, which were given also to Norton, Rous, Leddra and Harris until they were ready to succumb, and were only saved by a public subscription taken up by inhabitants of the City of Boston to pay their fines and send them away. Josiah Cole, a cousin of Christopher Holder, from near Bristol, arrived in America in 1658 and travelled extensively over the country preaching. The story of all these missionaries is one of continual arrest, banishment and beatings, all of which had no apparent effect. Sarah Gibbons, Dorothy Waugh and Harriet Gardner were stripped and flogged. Then Kather-

ine Scott, * a sister of Anne Marbury Hutchinson, a descendant of Dryden, poet laureate, walked to Boston to remonstrate against the barbarous treatment of Holder, Copeland and Robinson, whose ears were cut off, for which she was flogged and sent off. Arthur Howland of Northfield was heavily fined for entertaining Friends, and every possible indignity was thrust upon them.

Sandwich was a hot-bed of Quakerism, and few of its inhabitants but felt the hand of Endicott in this eventful year. Many of the descendants of the old Martyrs are still living in this town, particularly the Wings and Ewers, whose ancestors were imprisoned for various causes.

Besse records the following distrains made about this period from Friends resident in and near Sandwich, to satisfy the fines imposed:

"Robert Harper	£44	0	0
Joseph Allen	5	12	0
Edward Perry	89	18	0
George Allen	25	15	0
William Gifford	57	19	0
William Newland	36	0	0
Ralph Allen, Jun.	18	0	0
John Jenkins	19	10	0
Henry Howland	1	10	0
Ralph Allen, Sen.	68	0	0

*The Scotts were of a distinguished family, Katherine Scott, the wife of Thomas, was a descendant of John Dryden, the poet laureate, and of Sir Erasmus Dryden, and the fifth great grandmother of Mrs. Russell Sage, the distinguished American Philanthropist. One of the daughters, Mary Scott, married Christopher Holder, the Quaker pioneer minister. Another daughter, Hannah, married Walter Clark, the famous Quaker governor of Rhode Island and minister.

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Thomas Greenfield	4	0	0
Richard Kirby	57	12	0
William Allen	86	17	0
Thomas Ewer	25	8	0
Daniel Wing	12	0	0
Peter Gaunt	43	14	6
Michael Turner	13	10	0
John Newland	2	6	0
Matthew Allen	48	16	0
	£660	7	6"

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE MARTYRDOM OF QUAKERS.

In addition to the Declaration of Faith given in the previous chapter, a paper was prepared by the Friends, probably written by Christopher Holder, who was a highly educated man of known literary tastes, bearing upon the "Persecuting Spirit Exhibited in New England with warning to those who are indulging therein." This document appears to have aroused Endicott to a "fury." Summoning the Friends when the paper was found to have been circulated, he demanded whether they acknowledged it, and upon receiving their affirmation, burst into a tirade of invective, telling them "that they deserved to be hanged for writing it," and, says Bowden, "if he had possessed the power to execute his desires, the gibbet on Boston Common would, in all probability, soon have terminated the labors of these good men."

Endicott and Bellingham, his deputy, now determined to rid the colony of the Quakers at any cost, and began a series of cruelties and tortures that savored of the Inquisition. An order was issued that "all Quakers in jail shall be severely whipped twice a week," the punishment to begin with fifteen lashes and to increase the number by three at every successive application of the degrading sentence. Christopher Holder received thirty lashes at first; thence for seven weeks they received this sentence, the punishment being as follows: First week (original punishment), thirty lashes; third week, thirty-three lashes; fourth week, thirty-nine

lashes; fifth week, forty-five lashes, sixth week, fifty-one lashes; seventh week, fifty-seven lashes; eighth week, sixty-three lashes; ninth week, sixty-nine lashes, or, in the course of seven weeks, omitting the two during which they were not whipped, Holder received three hundred and fifty-seven lashes with the triple-knotted cord. Copeland received the same, and, in all probability, Doudney, though the records do not mention it; yet nowhere is it shown that these ministers uttered a word of complaint at their sufferings.

This was but the beginning of Endicott's crusade against the Quakers. He now issued what is known as the "*tongue-boring*" law, in which it was stated that for a third offense, the crime consisting of entering the city of Boston or the colony of Massachusetts, the Quaker should have his or her tongue bored through with a hot iron. The following is a copy of the document which I take from the Colonial Records, which was passed in August, 1657, and issued by Secretary Rawson, October 14th:

"As an addition to the late order, in reference to the coming, or bringing in any of the cursed sect of the Quakers into this jurisdiction, It is ordered, that whosoever shall from henceforth bring, or cause to be brought, directly or indirectly any known Quaker or Quakers, or other blasphemous heretics into this jurisdiction, every such person shall forfeit the sum of £100 to the country, and shall, by warrant from any magistrate, be committed to prison, there to remain, until the penalty be fully satisfied and paid; and if any person or persons within this jurisdiction, shall henceforth entertain or conceal any Quaker or Quakers, or other blasphemous heretics (knowing them to be so) every such person shall forfeit to the country forty shillings for every hour's con-



REPRESENTATIVE FRIENDS

*Elizabeth Comstock, Caroline Talbot
Charles F. Coffin (Lynn.), Avis Keen (Lynn.)*



JOHN CHASE GOVE
Of Lynn and Washington. Lineal Descendent of Edward Gove of Hampton

cealment and entertainment of any Quaker or Quakers, &c., and shall be committed to prison till the forfeitures be fully satisfied and paid: And it is further ordered, that if any Quaker or Quakers shall presume (after they have once suffered what the law requireth) to come into this jurisdiction every such male Quaker shall, for the first offense, have one of his ears cut off, and be kept at work in the house of correction, till he can be sent away at his own charge; and for the second offence, shall have his other ear cut off, and be kept at the house of correction as aforesaid. And every woman Quaker that hath suffered the law here, that shall presume to come into this jurisdiction shall be severely whipped, and kept at the house of correction at work, till she be sent away at her own charge; and also for her coming again, shall be used as aforesaid. And for every Quaker, he or she, that shall a third time offend, they shall have their tongues bored through with a hot iron, and kept at the house of correction close to work till they be sent away at their own charge. And it is further ordered, That all and every Quaker, arising from amongst ourselves, shall be dealt with and suffer like punishment, as the law provides against foreign Quakers.

“Edward Rawson, Secretary.

“Boston, 14th day of October, 1657.”

The repeated whippings to which Christopher Holder and John Copeland were subjected in the jail, the barbarous sentence being carried out twice a week, as described, did not fail to arouse sentiments of horror and repugnance among the more intelligent of the Puritans, and a reaction set in. The murmurings grew so loud and deep that, after subjecting the Quakers to nine weeks of torture, Endicott was

alarmed and ordered their release. On the 24th of September they were discharged and taken before the governor for final sentence. The tongue-boring law was read to them and they were duly banished from the colony.

While Holder and Copeland were undergoing the weekly beatings, the jail had received several accessions. Previous to the scene at the First Church, where Christopher Holder was attacked and rescued by Samuel Shattuck, he had been, as we have seen, hospitably entertained by Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick, people of repute in the town, described by Bishop as "an aged and grave couple." When this was discovered, they were arrested and thrown into jail with Christopher Holder and John Copeland, where Richard Doudney soon joined them, and later Mary Clark, who had come from London to protest against the outrages perpetrated against the Quakers. The friendship of the Southwick family for Holder caused them to fall under the ban of Governor Endicott, and they were ultimately driven out of the colony. Lawrence Southwick was released, but upon Cassandra, when searched in the jail, was found the Declaration of Faith by Christopher Holder and John Copeland, and their later warning. For the crime of possessing these papers, this infirm woman was detained in prison seven weeks and, according to Gough, both she and her husband were whipped, while, according to Sewell, they were deprived of their property. Mary Clark was given twenty stripes with three cords upon her naked back. Sewell adds: "The cords of these whips were commonly as thick as a man's little finger, having some knots at the end, and the stick was sometimes so long that the hangman made use of both his hands to strike the harder."

Governor Endicott even vented his rage upon the children of the entertainers of Christopher Holder as well. They were evidently watched, it being suspected that the family had joined the Friends, which was undoubtedly true, and the first time that Daniel and Provided, the son and daughter of Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick, remained away from church, they were arrested and fined £10 each for non-attendance. This they would not pay, whereupon Endicott, determined not only to rid the colony of Christopher Holder, but of any who had befriended him, ordered the brother and sister to be sold as slaves. The general court of Boston issued the following order in May, 1659, and it may be seen on the colonial records, bearing the name of Edward Rawson:

“Whereas, Daniel Southwick and Provided Southwick, son and daughter of Lawrence Southwick, absenting themselves from the public ordinances, having been fined by the courts of Salem and Ipswich, pretending they have no estates, and resolving not to work: The court, upon perusal of a law which was made upon account of debts, in answer to what should be done for the satisfaction of the fines, resolves, That the treasurers of the several counties, are and shall be fully *empowered to sell the said persons to any of the English nation at Virginia or Barbadoes*, to answer the said fines.”

The attempt was made to carry out this sentence, but, to the honor of the Puritans, no one could be found in the colony of Massachusetts who would be a party to Endicott's malice, nor could a ship captain be discovered in any port who would on any terms carry the English free man and woman to slavery. This remarkable incident is introduced

because it was a direct result of the friendship of Christopher Holder, which Endicott made a blight upon all who were the recipients, and because, in the nineteenth century, a descendant of Cassandra Southwick married a descendant of Christopher Holder—William Penn Holder, late of Lancaster, Massachusetts, a brother of Frank T. Holder, of Pasadena, California. The poem, "Cassandra Southwick," by Whittier, is a familiar one, a part of which is here given:

Then to the stout sea captains the sheriff,
turning, said—

"Which of ye, worthy seamen, will take
this Quaker maid?

In the isle of fair Barbadoes, or on Vir-
ginia's shore,

You may hold her at a higher price than
Indian girl or Moor."

Grim and silent stood the captains; and
when again he cried,

"Speak out my worthy seamen!"—no
voice, no sign replied;

But I felt a hard hand press my own,
and kind word met my ear,—

"God bless thee and preserve thee, my
gentle girl and dear!"

A weight seemed lifted from my heart,—
a pitying friend was nigh,

I felt it in his hard, rough hand, and saw
it in his eye;

And when again the sheriff spoke, that
voice, so kind to me,

Growled back its stormy answer like the
roaring of the sea,—

"Pile my ship with bars of silver,—pack
 with coins of Spanish gold,
 From keel-piece up to deck-plank, the
 roomage of her hold,
 By the living God who made me!—I
 would sooner in your bay
 Sink ship and crew and cargo, than bear
 this child away!" *

Provided Southwick was released and sent home; Holder, John Copeland, Richard Doudney and Mary Clark, banished. Christopher Holder, banished, took passage for England, and from there sailed to the West India Islands, traveling extensively. But his heart was in the work in the colony of Massachusetts, where the martyrdom of Friends was still going on. In 1658 George Fox received a letter from him, dated Barbados, stating that he had sailed from that port in February for Rhode Island, *via* Bermuda. To return now meant not only the scourge, but worse—the loss of an ear, the brand, or a hot iron thrust through the tongue; yet Holder determined to again force his way into the Puritan stronghold. In the meantime, his former companion, John Copeland had also decided to return, and, with William Brend, entered the colony of Plymouth. Here they found friends at court in the persons of Magistrates James Cudworth and Timothy Hatherly, of Scituate, who not only refused to prosecute them, but allowed them to hold meetings at their house, and on their departure gave them the following pass:

"These are, therefore, to any that may interrupt these two

*Whittier made the mistake of using the mother's name of Cassandra instead of the daughter's, "Provided."

men in their passage, that ye let them pass quietly on their way, they offering no wrong to any.

“Timothy Hatherly.”

Despite this the Friends were arrested in Boston. Brend was held and suffered untold tortures, being beaten so that he was given up for dead. John Copeland was released and went to Connecticut; then, learning that Christopher Holder had landed in Rhode Island, he joined him, and the two friends passed eastward to Plymouth.

There were now fifteen Friends laboring in New England, the original eleven who had crossed the ocean in the “Woodhouse,” with Holder, and Mary Dyer, of Rhode Island, John Rous, William Leddra and Thomas Harris, of Barbados. This force and their converts were opposed to all New England. The people were stirred as never before, and the Quakers were constantly entering Boston. As soon as one party was beaten, another appeared, and the Puritans wondered that these men could submit to such torture without complaint. On the 15th of April, 1658, Christopher Holder and John Copeland left Rhode Island, and on the 23rd they attended a meeting of Friends at Sandwich, where they were promptly arrested by the marshal. The latter officer had received strict orders from Governor Endicott to enforce the laws, and to banish all Quakers without delay; and should they return, the selectmen were ordered to see that they were whipped.

The ministers were ordered to leave, but Christopher Holder replied that “if they felt it to be the will of their divine master, they would do so, but on no other ground could they promise to leave Sandwich.” The marshal then notified the selectmen that it was their duty to act, but they

refused, whereupon he seized the two Quakers and marched them to Barnstable—a singular procession, as many of the converts of Holder and his friend insisted on following, that they might “cheer their brethren in bonds.” The following are the names of some of the original eighteen families who became Friends, and doubtless many of them followed Christopher Holder and saw him scourged at Barnstable. They were Thomas Ewer, Robert Harper, Joseph Allen, Edward Perry, George Allen, William Gifford, William Newland, Ralph Allen, Jr., John Jenkins, Henry Howland, Ralph Allen, Sr., Thomas Greenfield, Richard Kirby, William Allen, Daniel Wing, Peter Gaunt, Michael Turner, John Newland, Matthew Allen, all of whom, in 1658, were fined from ten to one hundred pounds for refusing to take the oath. Nearly all are represented in Sandwich or vicinity to-day. Mrs. Ewer is at the Moses Brown School in Providence; a Wing still lives in the old Wing homestead. The Howlands settled in New Bedford, and the descendants are prominent Friends to-day. The Allens and Wings are distinguished families in New England; and so with the others, the descendants in 1913 being in many instances still Friends, worthy descendants of the early martyrs and among the men and women who have made New England what it is.

The Barnstable magistrate was heartily in accord with the marshal, and, after going through the form of an examination, he undertook the office of executioner, bound the prisoners to a post in an outhouse, and, with their friends as “ear and eye witnesses to the cruelty,” administered thirty-three lashes, cutting their naked backs until they ran with blood. The day following the whippings, when the victims

were better able to travel, they were taken to Sandwich and released, traveling to Rhode Island, doubtless to recover from their wounds among staunch friends.

Christopher Holder, seriously injured by his repeated beatings, found refuge in the home of Richard and Katherine Scott, Friends, or Quakers, of Providence, who tenderly cared for him until he regained his health, and not long after we learned that he was engaged to Mary Scott,* a daughter of the family.

It is difficult for the reader in the twentieth century to

*The Scotts were influential people in the colony of Rhode Island, and were early converts to the religious convictions of Christopher Holder. Bishop says that Katherine Scott was a "grave, sober, ancient woman, of blameless conversation and of good education and circumstances," and Hutchinson, the historian, states that she was well bred, being a minister's daughter in England, though a Quaker by conviction. Her sister was the famous Anne Marbury Hutchinson, the leader of the Antinomians in Boston, who, with her brother, John Wheelright, was banished from Massachusetts in 1637, and who was killed by the Indians at Hell Gate, N. Y., in 1643. The husband, Richard Scott, was a man of wealth and influence in the colonies. Norton says: "Her husband, Richard Scott, and eight or nine children also became convinced of our convictions." "The power of God," writes John Rous, "took place in all their children" (Norton's Ensign), and, according to Bowden, one of the daughters spoke as a minister, although but eleven years of age. In a biography of Mary Dyer by Horatio Rogers, associate justice of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island, 1896, a relative of Christopher Holder by marriage, is found the following reference to this family, into which Christopher Holder married: "The Scott family were staunch Quakers and very friendly with Mary Dyer." Still another daughter, Hannah Scott, married Walter Clarke, a young Quaker, and for a number of years governor of Rhode Island. It is from her that Horatio Rogers is descended. Mrs. Katherine Scott's father was the Rev. Francis Marbury, of London, and her mother was sister of Sir Erasmus Dryden, Bart., grandfather of the poet. Such was the family into which Christopher Holder married, and in which we now find him recovering from his last scourging at Barnstable.

realize the zeal which actuated these Quaker Martyrs, which made them eager and willing to face death, branding and nameless tortures, in emulation of Him who died upon the cross to save sinners. It was this sentiment which supported them. If Christ gave His life to save the world, how then could his followers refuse to sacrifice their lives in His cause? Such was the philosophy of Christopher Holder and his friends, who now carried on this most unequal warfare against the religious tenets of the Puritans. Says Associate Justice Rogers, of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island: "Massachusetts law-makers did not reckon upon the existence of a zeal, a courage, a heroism, call it what you will, that would break down and triumph over their determination. They had never seen a self-sacrifice that conquered by its very submissiveness, and overwhelmed persecutors by a surfeit of victims offering themselves for sacrifice. The Quakers," he continues, "were absolutely fearless. They counted their lives as nothing in upholding their views, and they not only did not avoid martyrdom, but they studiously courted it; and therein lay their power and the secret of their final triumph."

News from Boston was not wholly reassuring. Humphrey Norton, William Brend, John Rous and others were being brutally beaten and treated there, and a new law had been enacted to the effect that if Quakers in jail would not work, they were to be whipped regularly twice a week, the first whipping to be with ten strokes, the second with fifteen, and every subsequent whipping with an addition of three "until further orders," the victims to which other than the above being William Leddra, afterwards hung by order of Endicott, and Thomas Harris. This brutality so aroused

the people that their fines were raised by public subscription, and the four Friends sent to Providence. When they reached Rhode Island, Christopher Holder was just convalescent after his Barnstable scourging, and, as Boston was now left without any Friends to carry on the work, he decided to go there, with John Copeland, who arrived in Providence about this time. The two men well knew what was before them. They might, according to edict, lose an ear, be branded, perhaps whipped to death after the manner of John Brend, but all this had no terrors for them, and on the 3d of June, 1658, they left Providence, soon reaching Dedham. Before they had an opportunity to preach, the emissaries of Endicott heard of their presence, arrested them and sent them to Boston, where they were at once carried to the House of Governor Endicott, who flew into a violent rage upon seeing and recognizing them as the ministers who had repeatedly defied him. "You shall have your ears cut off," he shouted. "That men who had been imprisoned," says Bowden, "and whipped and banished for their religious opinions, should still persist in the advocacy of them, with the certainty of incurring increased severities, was what the darkened mind of Endicott could not comprehend." The scene must have been a striking one. The manacled Quakers standing by the officers, cool, perfectly at their ease, regardless of abuse, accepting everything as a part of their work without complaint. Their very equipoise was maddening to the narrow-minded man who was their superior by virtue of his office, their inferior in intelligence or breeding. He vainly endeavored to extort from them some remark which might be used against them. "What! You remain in the same opinion you were before?" he cried, wondering, despite

his rage, what manner of men these were. "We remain in the fear of the Lord," responded Holder. "Why do you return?" then asked Governor Endicott; "you know the law." "The Lord God hath commanded us, and we could not but come," replied Christopher Holder. "The Lord command you to come?" exclaimed the governor; "it was Satan;" and, turning to Rawson, his secretary, he directed that the following order should be made out, here copied from Besse:

"To the Keeper of the House of Correction:

"You are by virtue hereof, required to take into your custody the bodies of Christopher Holder and John Copeland, and them safely to keep close to work, with prisoners' diet only, till their ears be cut off; and not suffer them to converse with any, while they are in your custody.

"Edward Rawson, Secretary."

The ministers were thrust into a noisome jail, and for three days the jailer starved them because they would not work. A few days later they were joined by their friend, John Rous, who had been arrested. The Court of Assistants assembled in Boston the 7th of July, 1658, and the three friends were taken, menaced, before it and subjected to a long and rigorous questioning as to why they had returned. They were then remanded, and again taken before the court to receive sentence, which was that each should have the right ear cut off, a degrading punishment, originally devised by the Star Chamber, in England, which, in 1634, ordered that William Prynne, Henry Burton and Dr. Bostwick should have their ears cut off at a scaffold in Palace Yard, Westminster, an order which was carried out against

these Puritans, who now applied the same treatment to the Quakers.

The sentence created intense excitement in Boston. Many began to feel that the charges against the Quakers were unjust and without reason, also many converts had been made, both factions forming the nucleus of an anti-Puritan party. As the news was spread broadcast and reached Rhode Island, Friends at once started for Boston to protest against the injustice and to give the victims their moral support. Among them were Cassandra and Lawrence Southwick, Samuel Shattuck, who had entertained Christopher Holder, William Newland and others of Sandwich. Among the women who went to Boston was Katherine Scott, of Providence, who had so recently entertained Christopher Holder. She created much excitement by her bold advocacy of the prisoners, her influence and position in the colony of Rhode Island being well known. She went before Endicott and remonstrated with him on "this barbarous act," and was detained as a prisoner for her temerity and subjected to a rigorous examination, during which she was told that "they were likely to have a law to hang her if she came there again." To which she replied, "If God calls us, woe be to us if we come not, and I question not but He whom we love, will make us not count our lives dear unto ourselves for the sake of His name." To which Endicott replied, "And we shall be as ready to take away your lives, as ye shall be to lay them down." She was released, with a warning. In the meantime, Christopher Holder announced to the court that he wished to appeal to Oliver Cromwell against its decision, to which reply was made that if they opened their mouths again the gag would be applied.

On the 17th of July the sentence was to be carried out, and, hearing it was to be enforced privately by their executioner in the jail, Katherine Scott made another protest, saying that "It was evident they were going to act the works of darkness or else they would have brought them forth publicly and have declared their offense that others may hear and fear." The truth was that so hostile had the public become at these exhibitions that Endicott feared to risk a public execution; hence it was carried out in private. But Katherine Scott had protested too much. She was arrested for this last offense, committed to prison, and given ten stripes with the knotted cord at the hands of the executioner—an act which aroused the greatest indignation in the colony of Rhode Island. On the 17th of July, Christopher Holder, John Rous and John Copeland had their right ears cut off by the hangman, and, as they stood, bleeding, the latter asked if they repented and how they liked it. Their reply was, "In the strength of God we suffered joyfully, having freely given up not only one member, but all, if the Lord so required, for the sealing of our testimony which the Lord hath given us." Sewell gives the following account of the incident:

"To the marshal-general, or to his deputy: You are to take with you the executioner, and repair to the house of correction, and there see him cut off the right ears of John Copeland, Christopher Holder, and John Rous, Quakers; in execution of the sentence of the court of assistants, for the breach of the law, entitled Quakers.

" 'Edward Rawson, Secretary.'

"Then the prisoners were brought into another room, where John Rous said to the marshal, 'We have appealed to

the chief magistrate of England.' To which he answered he had nothing to do with that. Holder said, 'Such execution as this should be done publicly, and not in private, for this was contrary to the law of England.' But Captain Oliver said, 'We do it in private to keep you from tattling.' Then the executioner took Holder, and when he had turned aside his hair, and was going to cut off his ear, the marshal turned his back on him, which made Rous say, 'Turn about and see it; for so was his order.' The marshal then, though filled with fear, turned and said, 'Yes, yes, let us look on it.' Rous, who was more undaunted than his persecutor, suffered the like, as well as the third, and they said, 'Those that do it ignorantly, we desire from our hearts the Lord to forgive them; but for them that do it maliciously, let our blood be upon their heads; and such shall know, in the day of account, that every drop of our blood shall be as heavy upon them as a millstone.' Afterwards these persons were whipped again; but, this practice becoming so common in New England as if it was but play, I will not detain my reader with it."

The mutilated ministers, showing no evidence of fear, or that they purposed to change their methods, were detained in jail, and, according to the law, beaten twice a week, finally, after nine weeks of this punishment, being released.

Rev. John Norton (who, according to Oldmixon, in his "British Empire in America," was at the head of all Quaker suffering in America), a Puritan pastor of the First Church, who had been the bitterest enemy of the Quakers, foreseeing that they would return again, induced the magistrates to pass a still more stringent law; ear-cutting, boring the tongue, branding the hand with H (Heretic), the pillory

and stocks, the whipping post and banishment, were all too simple for this reverend spirit. The Rev. John Wilson, another pastor of the Boston First Church, cried: "I would carry fire in my one hand and fagots in the other, to burn all the Quakers in the world. Hang them!" he cried, "or else"—drawing his finger across his throat in a suggestive manner. Such was the strenuous life in Boston in 1658. As a result of the demands of these clergymen of the town, the following act was passed a few weeks after Christopher Holder was released, or on the 20th of October, being evidently designed to end the career of this ecclesiastical knight should he ever return to the colony of Massachusetts. The act, which is a long one, ends as follows: "They shall be sentenced to banishment upon pain of death; and any one magistrate upon information given him of any such person, shall cause him to be apprehended, and shall commit any such person to prison, according to his discretion, until he come to trial, as aforesaid."

"Here," says Sewell, the historian, "ends this sanguinary act, being more like to the decrees of the Spanish Inquisition than to the laws of a reformed Christian magistracy, consisting of such, who, to shun persecution themselves, (which was but a small fine for not frequenting public worship), had left Old England."

The reader who has followed the steps of this martyr of the Friends will not believe that Christopher Holder would obey the mandates, often broken, of banishment, or be intimidated by the brutal act passed with so much difficulty. When liberated from jail, his health being impaired, he went south, where he joined William Robinson, described as his loving friend, and, together with Robert

Hodgson, they carried on their gospel labors in Virginia and Maryland until early in 1659, when they returned to Rhode Island. It appears from a letter written by Peter Pearson in Plymouth Prison, that all the Friends met in Rhode Island, April 9, 1659, to arrange for future work.

Previous to going Christopher Holder issued a letter addressed to the magistrates and others in Boston, a facsimile of which and of the exact size, showing his hand writing and autograph, is seen on the following page. This letter was found in New England by Mr. Wing, Curator of the Dartmouth Museum and a distinguished authority on Quaker history. Mr. Wing is a descendant of Christopher Holder on the Slocum side, his grandfather being Holder Howland.

The journey was soon begun, and, at her earnest solicitation, Christopher Holder allowed Patience Scott, who was later to become his sister-in-law, to accompany them. She was but eleven years of age, yet had developed a remarkable talent for speaking, and seemed possessed of wisdom far beyond her age. Her appearance in Boston, and her subsequent experiences, created a profound sensation.

The three men knew that there could be but one result of their journey. They had all been banished under pain of death, yet faced it without regret. That they succeeded in avoiding arrest for some weeks is evident, as, in a letter to friends in England, William Robinson mentions having received a letter from Christopher Holder in May, 1659, in which he says, "Was in service at Salem last week, and hath had fine service among Friends in these parts."

Their time of freedom was short. Marmaduke Stephenson and William Robinson were arrested; then Patience

Scott was jailed for protesting against their sentence, and last, Christopher Holder was apprehended in the streets of Boston and thrown into jail. As a result, the courts, fearing public opinion, sentenced them again, with the exception of Patience Scott, to banishment, under pain of death, giving them the customary beating and a few days in which to leave. But, to the consternation of Endicott and Norton, the Friends paid no attention to the warning. William Robinson and Marmaduke Stephenson held many meetings in and about Salem and Lynn, in the fields and by-ways, while Christopher Holder traveled in the north of Massachusetts, then returning to Boston, where he was arrested and thrown into jail in August, 1659. The magistrates were amazed at this utter disregard of the death penalty, and, urged by the Rev. Norton, wholesale arrests were made and preparations for the execution of some of the Quakers begun. Numbers of Friends now came to Boston to see Christopher Holder, among them Hope Clifton, of a well-known Rhode Island family, who later became his second wife. With her came Mary Dyer and Mary Scott. Bowden says: "Mary Dyer, under a feeling of religious constraint, returned to Boston, accompanied by Hope Clifton, a Friend, of Rhode Island. They entered the city the 8th of the eighth month; on the following morning they proceeded to the gaol to visit Christopher Holder, and were recognized and arrested."

In rapid succession friends of Christopher Holder were thrown into jail—Robert Harper, Daniel and Provided Southwick, Nicholas Upsal. A few days later Robinson and Stephenson came from Salem, heading a remarkable procession of Friends, who accompanied them to witness

their execution. They were Daniel Gould, Hannah Phelps, William King, Mary Trask, Margaret Smith and Alice Cowland. "The latter," says Bishop, "brought linen to wrap the dead bodies of those who were to suffer." All these persons were met by the constables, the two ministers being loaded with chains. There were now seventeen persons in jail, and Bancroft says, "The Quakers swarmed when they were feared."

For some reason, in all probability the fact that his family or connections in England were of paramount influence with the reigning powers, Governor Endicott found it convenient to omit sentencing Christopher Holder to death, though he had once, if not twice, been banished under pain of death, and had been the recipient of the maximum amount of malignity in the form of every possible indignity and torture; but Stephenson, Robinson and Mary Dyer were sentenced to death and later executed. The other Friends with Christopher Holder were kept in jail two months, and then taken before the court for examination. Their sentence was, the men fifteen stripes each; the older women ten stripes each, for which they were stripped in the public streets and beaten before the mob. Alice Cowland, Hannah Phelps, Hope Clifton and Mary Scott were delivered over to Governor Endicott for admonition, while Christopher Holder for reasons best known to the governor, as suggested above, was for the third time banished on pain of death. An order of the court was issued to this effect, of which the following is a copy taken from the Colonial Records, October 18, 1659:

"Whereas, Christopher Holder, a Quaker, hath suffered what the law formerly appointed, after being sent to Eng-

land without punishment, presumptuously coming into this jurisdiction without leave first obtained, the Court judgeth it meete to sentence him to banishment on pain of death; in case he be found within this jurisdiction three days after the next ship now bound from hence to England be departed from this harbor, with the keeper at his own charge, he shall have liberty one day in a week to go about his business, and in case he shall choose to go out of this jurisdiction sooner on the penalty aforesaid, he shall by order from the Governor or Deputy Governor be discharged the prison, so as he stay not above three days after his discharge from the prison in this jurisdiction."

Christopher Holder now sailed for England where, with Samuel Shattuck, George Fox and other Friends, he held many meetings; and when Charles the Second succeeded to the throne, he at once acted on the appeals of the Quakers, and released a small army of them from English jails, and promised the American martyrs that they should be protected.

When the news of the downfall of the Puritan party and the restoration reached America, Endicott and his friends became alarmed and realized that they must justify the murders of Robinson, Stephenson and Dyer and the maltreatment of Holder and his banishment on pain of death. They accordingly got up a petition in which the Friends were denounced in the most remarkable terms, evidence, if no other existed, of their malice, and the fear and injustice which filled the hearts of Endicott, Wilson, Rawson, Norton and Bellingham at this time. This tissue of lies was taken to England by agents of Endicott, but Christopher Holder, Samuel Shattuck and John Copeland were in London, and

their friend, Edward Burrough, provided by them with the facts, made the king his well-known address:

“Oh King, this my occasion to present thee with these considerations is very urgent, and of great necessity, even in the behalf of innocent blood, because of a paper presented to thee, called ‘The humble petition and address of the General Court at Boston, in New England;’ in which are contained divers calumnies, unjust reproaches, palpable untruths, and malicious slanders against an innocent people. It is hard to relate the cruelties that have been committed against this people by these petitioners: they have spoiled their goods, imprisoned many of their persons, whipped them, cut off their ears, burned them, yea, banished and murdered them: and all I aver and affirm before thee, O King, wholly unjustly and unrighteously, and without the breach of any just law of God or man; but for and because of difference in judgment and practice concerning spiritual things.”

“After refuting the charges of blasphemy, &c.,” says Bowden, “Edward Burrough refers to another, in which they are represented as persons of ‘impetuous and desperate turbulency to the State, civil and ecclesiastical.’ ‘Let it be considered,” says Burrough, “what their dangerous and desperate turbulency was to State, civil and ecclesiastical: Did ever these poor people, whom they condemned and put to shameful death, lift up a hand against them, or appear in any turbulent gesture towards them? Were they ever found with any carnal weapon about them? or, what was their crime, saving that they warned sinners to repent, and the ungodly to turn from his way? We appeal to the God of heaven on their behalf, whom they have martyred for the

name of Christ, that they had no other offense to charge upon them, saving their conversations, doctrines, and (religious) practices. It is fully believed by us, that these sufferers did not go into New England in their own cause, but in God's cause, and in the movings of his Holy Spirit, and in good conscience towards Him. They did rather suffer the loss of their own lives for their obedience towards God than to disobey him to keep the commandments of men. The blood of our brethren lieth upon the heads of the magistrates of New England. They are guilty of their cruel death; for they put them to death, not for any evil doing between man and man, but for their obedience to God, and for good conscience sake towards him."

Burrough in continuing said: "Again, these petitioners fawn and flatter in these words—'Let not the king hear men's words; your servants are true men, fearers of God and the king, and not given to change; zealous of government and order. We are not seditious to the interest of Caesar, &c. In answer to this, many things are to be considered; why should the petitioners seem to exhort the king not to hear men's words? Shall the innocent be accused before him, and not heard in their lawful defense? Must not the king hear the accused as well as the accusers, and in as much justice? I hope God hath given him more nobility of understanding, than to receive or put in practice such admonition; and I desire that it may be far from the king ever to condemn any person or people upon the accusation of others, without full hearing of the accused, as well as their enemies, for it is justice and equity so to do, and thereby shall his judgment be the more just." "Thus," he concluded, "these considerations are presented to the king, in vindi-

cation of that innocent people called Quakers, whom these petitioners have accused as guilty of heinous crimes, that themselves might appear innocent of the cruelty, and injustice, and shedding of the blood of just men, without cause. But let the king rightly consider of the case between us and them, and let him not hide his face from hearing the cry of innocent blood. For a further testimony of the wickedness and enormity of these petitioners, and to demonstrate how far they had proceeded contrary to the good laws and authority of England, and contrary to their own patent, hereunto is annexed and presented to the king, a brief of their unjust dealings towards the Quakers."

He did not stop here; his eloquent appeal to justice was followed by a complete presentation of the facts relating to the outrages against Christopher Holder, Samuel Shattuck and others by George Bishop, of Bristol, who in 1661 produced his book, "New England Judged," which was presented to the king and read by him. The result was decisive. The king determined to end the outrages perpetrated in the colonies in the name of religion, and responded in a paper which left no doubt but that the Quakers were at last to be protected. A mandamus was addressed to Endicott ordering that all Quakers in jail be released and sent to England. Probably with a view to thoroughly humiliating Endicott, Burrough asked the king that one of the banished Friends might be the bearer of the mandamus, and Samuel Shattuck, the intimate friend of Christopher Holder, the man who in the First Church of Salem, 1656, had prevented him from being strangled, and who had been banished and deprived of his property for his staunch friendship for

Holder and his loyalty to the doctrine of Friends, who desired to return to his family, was appointed.

No more obnoxious selection could have been made, and doubtless the little coterie of Friends who now had the king's ear were not entirely without a sense of humor. The English Friends raised the money at once to hire a ship. Ralph Goldsmith was appointed master, and they dispatched her with Samuel Shattuck and many Friends as passengers, who embraced this opportunity to return. In six weeks she entered Boston harbor. The following day Shattuck and the captain waited on the governor at his house, and the former stood face to face with the man who had insulted and banished him, now a king's messenger.

This incident is one of the most dramatic occurrences in all the story of New England Quakers. The man who had rescued Christopher Holder from the outrageous attack in First Church, who had been banished, and, to all intents, made an outlaw, had returned as the King's Messenger. When the Quaker entered Endicott's home he did not remove his hat. Sir John, in a fury, ordered it be taken from him, and a servant jerked it off and flung it upon the floor in derision. There must have been a lurking laugh on the Quaker's face when he remarked, "Is this the way the Messenger of His Majesty the King is received by the Governor of Massachusetts colony?"

"What do you mean, fellow?" shouted the enraged governor.

"I mean this," replied Samuel Shattuck, taking a paper from his belt and with shining eyes stepping forward. "I mean this: that I am the representative of the King. I have his mandamus and here are my credentials."

"Let me see them," said Endicott.

The Quaker handed them to a servant who took them to the governor.

Endicott glanced at them, bit his lip, and turned purple with rage, then exerting all his self possession, he rose and faced the representative of his sovereign.

"Replace the gentleman's hat," he said.

Shattuck took his hat from the hands of the amazed and now cringing servant, while Sir John took off his own hat and bowed in recognition of the presence of a superior power. He then invited the Quaker to accompany him to the home of Deputy Governor Bellingham where they were received with honors by the frightened official. At the end of a short conference Sir John Endicott returned the Quaker's credentials, saying, "We shall obey his Majesty's commands."

So complete a victory without striking a blow, was never known, as it was practically the end of a bloody war in which one side had used the force of arms and manufactured laws, while the other had employed the arts of peace, passive resistance and the example of Jesus Christ.

The amazement and chagrin of Endicott can be imagined. He did not dare to obey the mandamus and send his prisoners to England to become witnesses against himself. Christopher Holder and Samuel Shattuck had accomplished harm enough, so to avoid "so dangerous a doctrine" he really disobeyed the order and discharged the prisoners, who now held meetings of rejoicing in all parts of the colonies. The following famous poem, "The King's Missive," by Whittier, is founded on this incident:

"The door swung open, and Rawson the clerk
Entered, and whispered under breath,
"There waits below for the hangman's work
A fellow banished on pain of death—
Shattuck, of Salem, unhealed of the whip,
Brought over in Master Goldsmith's ship
At anchor here in a Christian port,
With freight of the devil and all his sort!"

Twice and thrice on the chamber floor
Striding fiercely from wall to wall,
"The Lord do so to me and more,"
The Governor cried, "if I hang not all!
Bring hither the Quaker." Calm, sedate,
With the look of a man at ease with fate,
Into that presence grim and dread
Came Samuel Shattuck, with hat on head.

"Off with the knave's hat!" An angry hand
Smote down the offense; but the wearer said,
With a quiet smile, "By the king's command
I bear his message and stand in his stead."
In the Governor's hand a missive he laid
With the royal arms on its seal displayed,
And the proud man spake as he gazed thereat,
Uncovering, "Give Mr. Shattuck his hat."

He turned to the Quaker, bowing low,—
"The king commandeth your friends' release,
Doubt not he shall be obeyed, although
To his subjects' sorrow and sin's increase.
What he here enjoineth, John Endicott,
His loyal subject, questioneth not.
You are free! God grant the spirit you own
May take you from us to parts unknown."

Endicott now sent a deputation to London to clear himself, if possible, selecting the notorious Norton, who had been a prominent figure in all the barbarities practiced, and an equally undesirable person, a prosecuting magistrate named Simon Bradstreet, famous as a "Quaker baiter." These men denied all participation in the extreme proceedings in Boston, but John Copeland and Christopher Holder, each with one ear, were in London, and with George Fox as spokesman, charged them with murder, and, hearing that the father of the murdered Robinson was coming to make charges against them, they literally fled. Bowden says: "This mission was a complete failure." The historian Neil writes: "When the Rev. Norton came home (to Boston) his friends were very shy of him, and some of the people told him to his face that he had lain the foundation of the ruin of their liberties, which struck him to the heart and brought him to such a melancholy habit of body as to hasten his death."

CHAPTER XIX.

MARY DYER AND HER FRIENDS.

Among the many interesting types of women Quakers of the seventeenth century, none stands out with greater distinctness than Mary Dyer or Dier, the wife of William Dyer—"the pride of Somerset in Elizabethan days." How Mary Dyer became so notable a figure in colonial history, the subject of many monographs, public documents and books even in the nineteenth century, can be best explained by glancing very briefly at one of the peculiar religious cults of previous years.

In a review of early religions, it is seen that many held the doctrine that sin was a mere incident of life, or the body, and that a regenerate soul was so pure that sin was impossible. This was a form of Gnosticism, and was held by many who had not the faintest idea what it meant. In 1492-1656, John Agricola of Germany, "received" this doctrine, and preached it as a part of a demonstration against the Catholic Church; and in 1600-1642, the Rev. Tobias Crisp became the advocate in England of a species of ultra-Calvinism, which found its expression in Puritan theology, as a doctrine embodying the idea that the perfect man or woman could become spiritually perfect by having his sins transferred to Christ, who became the transgressor, thus relieving the real sinner, and leaving him pure and immaculate. This was a most comforting and convenient doctrine, which gave the name Antinomians to its followers, who, to reduce their ambiguous religion to pseudo under-

standable terms, refused to accept the obligation of the moral law, as it was understood in the Gospel. It little matters how abstruse, impossible or vacuous an idea may be, how involved or platitudinous it is, if advanced with courage and conviction by some one who really believes in it, followers will always be found; and this singular, not to say absurd, doctrine has always had advocates who believe in some form of Gnosticism.

Early in the seventeenth century, a clergyman named John Cotton, held the pastorate of St. Botolph in Boston, England, then later came to America and became one of the striking figures in the American Boston. He was, for that time, a man of high learning and intelligence; but his fame rests mainly on his intolerance. Among those who followed John Cotton to America was John Hutchinson and his wife, Anne Marbury Hutchinson, the daughter of a distinguished London clergyman, and a descendant of Dryden, the poet laureate. Mrs. Hutchinson was, without question, one of the cleverest women in the Colonies—witty, active, ambitious and impelled by mental activity to become a leader, she seized upon the old doctrine of Agricola, Tobias and others, and expounded it so cleverly that young Sir Harry Vane, who was then governor, was at his wits' end. Men and women, even the clergy, as John Cotton, flocked to the standard of Mrs. Hutchinson, and they soon split the theology of the Puritans, and gave the believers in witchcraft and other cults and superstitions something new to discuss.

The pseudo new party became known as the Antinomians, from the fact that they practically denied the obligations of the moral law, claiming that they were emancipated from it

by the Gospel. Mrs. Hutchinson claimed much for a certain "supernatural light," in this respect resembling the "inner light" of Fox and the Quakers, that has been made much of. This extraordinary and vague cult was not so remarkable as some of the religious theories advanced in the twentieth century, which have no rhyme or reason (as that of Dowie, to mention but one); but as the population of America was not large, the Antinomians created a sensation, and for a while demoralized the Puritans, as did witchcraft and other weird delusions which have counterparts among the ignorant in every land to-day.

It was not long before the Puritans took exception to the doctrines of Mrs. Hutchinson, though there was nothing criminal or threatening about them, and she was arrested and brought to trial. She testified, among other things, that she had obtained information by an "immediate revelation," or "by the voice of his own spirit in my soul;"—again the idea of the inner light of Fox. The result of her trial was that Mrs. Hutchinson was cast out, exiled, and banished from the colony.

The words of the Reverend Mr. Wilson are prophetic of the greater intolerance to come in 1656, as she stood up to receive her sentence; he said, "In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the name of the Church, I do not only pronounce you worthy to be cast out, but I do cast you out; and in the name of Christ I do deliver you up to Satan. I do account you from this time forth to be a heathen and a publican. I command you in the name of Jesus Christ and of this church as a leper to withdraw yourself out of this congregation." As the woman once honored, now under the ban of public disfavor, really guiltless of any infraction of

the moral law, went forth, a woman named Mary Dyer arose, clasped her arm, and accompanied her into exile. They journeyed to Rhode Island, and a few years later Mary Dyer sailed for England; there, finding in the doctrine of George Fox much with which she sympathized, she joined the Friends, and became a minister.

Mary Dyer returned to Boston in 1656 with Ann Burke, en route for Rhode Island, arriving a few days after the banishment of Christopher Holder and John Copeland and the rest of the Quakers who came to America in the "Speedwell."

The two women were at once arrested as "plain Quakers" and thrown into jail, and despite their protests, kept there several months. Mary Dyer's release was finally obtained by her husband who was placed under heavy bonds not to allow her to sleep in any house in the colony or to speak to anyone.

Mrs. Dyer had been an early convert and friend of Mrs. Hutchinson. She was in every sense a woman of repute and of good family and her subsequent history fills a conspicuous niche in the archives of New England devoted to intolerance, martyrdom, and the victims of bigotry. Originally from London, the Dyers had gone to Boston, where they joined the Church of the Rev. Mr. Wilson in 1635, and were numbered among the intelligent citizens, being above reproach and above the average in education and culture. Dyer held many positions of public importance. In 1638 he was elected clerk, and in 1640-7, was secretary of Portsmouth and Newport. Later on, he became the General Recorder under the Parliamentary patent, and among his later honors was that of attorney general of the colony.

Mrs. Dyer became a prominent figure as a Quaker minister in Rhode Island, and with their six children the Dyers became the ancestors of some of the most distinguished citizens of the state and nation. An earnest minister, Mary Dyer traveled over the new country, and in 1658 was expelled from the colony of New Haven for preaching.

We have seen John Copeland, Christopher Holder and Richard Doudney preaching in New England. In June, 1659, William Robinson of London, and Marmaduke Stephenson of Holderness, now in Rhode Island, felt a call to enter Massachusetts. They were accompanied by Patience Scott, a young girl, and later a sister-in-law of Christopher Holder, and Nicholas Davis of Rhode Island colony. They were promptly thrown into jail, where already awaiting sentence were Christopher Holder and others. Mary Dyer followed them some time later and was thrown into jail with them, and on September 12, 1659, they were banished on pain of death, Patience Scott being admonished by the court and sent home. Nicholas Davis and Mary Dyer obeyed the admonition, but Robinson and Stephenson felt it their duty to remain, and continued their ministry, when they were again arrested. There was a close intimacy between the Scott, Holder and Dyer families, Christopher Holder later marrying Mary Scott, and when it was learned that the maimed Holder was again in jail, threatened with torture, Mary Dyer, Hope Clifton and Mary Scott walked through the forest to Boston from Providence, to plead for his release and that of others. Mary Dyer was arrested while speaking to Holder through the prison bars, conveying to the victims the messages of Friends, and again cast into jail.

There was no mistaking this move of Holder, Copeland, Robinson, Stephenson and Mary Dyer. They deliberately challenged the legal right of Endicott to carry out the death penalty, they did what their compatriots were doing in England, returned to the field as soon as they were released, willing to lay down their lives, if necessary, yet never striking a blow in retaliation. Passive non-resistance and religious appeals constituted the ammunition and weapons of this Colonial Quaker army, where each soldier was a general, and its effectiveness was one of the marvels of a century of intolerance. The prisoners virtually threw down the glove. They had all been banished with the assurance that if they returned death awaited them. They returned in face of the law and menace, their excuse being that they had been so commanded by the Lord. Endicott, who listened to this plea, was frankly nonplused, and doubtless did not desire to go to the last extreme.

When they were brought before the magistrates, the latter said, "We desire not your death. We have made many laws and endeavored in several ways to keep you from among us, but neither whipping or punishment, nor cutting of ears (Holder and Copeland), nor banishment upon pain of death will keep you from among us." This was the prelude, then follows—"Hearken now to your sentence of death." Robinson asked to read a paper explaining why they came, but the magistrates and Endicott refused to listen, and they were sentenced. Mary Dyer was then brought out, and Endicott pronounced sentence upon her: "Mary Dyer, you shall go from here to the place from where you came, and from thence to the place of execution, and there be hanged until you be dead." "The Lord's will

be done," replied the minister of the Quakers. "Take her away, marshal," replied Endicott and she was led away, praying to the Lord.

The Quakers had many sympathizers in Boston, and there were many protests. Governor Winthrop came from Connecticut to protest against this crime of the century. He said he would go down on his knees to stop it, if necessary. Colonel Temple, Governor of Arcady and Nova Scotia, filed his protest with the authorities, and many more, but without avail. The Quakers practically shut themselves out, as a number of Friends, among whom were Daniel Gould of Newport, William King, Hannah Trask, Robert Harper of Sandwich, Provided Southwick (later offered for sale as a slave), Margaret Smith and Alice Cowland, had walked from Salem, bearing grave clothes, announcing to the authorities of Boston that they had come at the behest of the Lord, "to look your bloody laws in the face."

Endicott planned to execute Robinson and Stephenson, and to carry the execution of Mary Dyer to the moment before death, hoping that she would weaken or recant; as they, doubtless, felt some qualms of conscience or fear of the effect of hanging a woman. It was designed to have a pretended reprieve arrive at the last moment, which shows that they did not understand Mary Dyer. The 27th of October, 1659, was set as the day of execution, and hundreds of people came in from the surrounding country, men and women who had been involved in witchcraft charges, clergymen and laymen. The following is a letter written by William Robinson:

"On the 8th day of the 8th Month, in the after part of the day, Travelling betwixt Newport in Rhode Island and

Daniel Gould's house, with my dear brother, Christopher Holder, the Word of the Lord came expressly to me, which did fill me immediately with Life and Power, and heavenly Love, by which he constrained me, and commanded me to pass to the Town of Boston, to lay down my life, in his Will, for the Accomplishing of His service, which He had to be performed at the Day appointed. To which Heavenly voice I presently yielded Obedience, not questioning the Lord how He would bring the Thing to pass, since I was a Child, and Obedience was Demanded of me by the Lord, who filled me with living Strength and Power from His heavenly Presence, which at that time did mightily Overshadow me, and my Life at that time did say Amen to what the Lord required of me, and had Commanded me to do, and willingly was I given up from that time, to this Day, to do and perform the Will of the Lord, whatever became of my Body; for the Lord had said unto me, 'thy Soul shall rest in everlasting Peace, and thy Life shall enter into Rest, for being Obedient to the God of thy life.' I was a Child, and durst not question the Lord in the least, but rather was willing to lay down my Life, than to bring Dishonour to the Lord; and as the Lord made me willing, dealing Gently and Kindly with me, as a Tender Father by a Faithful Child, whom he dearly Loves, so the Lord did deal with me in Ministering his Life unto me, which gave and gives me strength to perform what the Lord required of me; and still as I did and do stand in need, he Ministered and Ministreth more Strength, and Virtue, and heavenly Power and Wisdom, whereby I was and am made strong in God, not fearing what Man shall be suffered to do unto me."

Marmaduke Stephenson also left a letter written a short

time previous: "In the beginning of the year 1655, I was at the Plough in the east parts of Yorkshire in Old England, near the place where my Outward Being was, and as I walked after the Plough, I was filled with the Love and the Presence of the Living God which did Ravish my Heart when I felt it; for it did increase and abound in me like a Living Stream, so did the Love and Life of God run through me like precious Ointment, giving a pleasant Smell, which made me stand still; and as I stood a little still, with my Heart and Mind stayed on the Lord, the Word of the Lord came to me, in a still, small voice, which I did hear perfectly, saying to me, in the Secret of my Heart and Conscience, 'I have Ordained Thee a prophet unto the Nations.' And at the hearing of the Word of the Lord I was put to a stand, being that I was but a Child for a Weighty Matter. So at the time appointed, Barbadoes was set before me, unto which I was required of the Lord to go, and leave my dear loving Wife and tender Children; For the Lord said unto me immediately by his Spirit, That he would be a Husband to my Wife, and as a Father to my Children, and they should not want in my Absence, for he would provide for them when I was gone. And I believed that the Lord would perform what he had spoken, because I was made willing to give up myself to his Work and Service (with my dear Brother) under the Shadow of his Wings, who hath made us willing to lay down our Lives for His own name Sake. So, in Obedience to the Living God, I made preparation to pass to Barbadoes in the 4th month, 1658. So, after some time, I had been on the Island in the Service of God, I heard that New England had made a Law to put the Servants of the Living God to death,

if they returned after they were sentenced away, which did come near to me at that time; and as I considered the Thing, and pondered it in my Heart, immediately came the Word of the Lord unto me, saying, Thou knowest not but that thou mayst go thither. But I kept this Word in my Heart, and did not declare it to any until the time Appointed. So, after that, a Vessel was made ready for Rhode Island, which I passed in. So, after a little time that I had been there, visiting the Seed which the Lord hath Blessed, the Word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Go to Boston, with thy Brother, William Robinson. And at His Command I was Obedient, and gave myself up to do His will, that so His work and Service may be accomplished; For, he had said to me, That he had a great Work for me to do; which is now to come to pass; And for yielding Obedience to, and obeying the Voice and Command of the Everlasting God, which created Heaven and Earth, and the Fountains of Waters, Do, I, with my dear Brother, suffer outward Bonds near unto Death. And this is given forth to be upon Record, that all people may know, who hear it, That we came not in our own Wills, but in the Will of God. Given forth by me who am known to Men by the name of

Marmaduke Stephenson,

But who have a new name given me, which the World knows not of, written in the book of Life.

*Written in Boston prison
in the 8th month, 1659."

Boston was the scene of great excitement on the day of

*These letters of Robinson and Stephenson are interesting as showing how positive was their belief that God spoke directly to them.

execution. Troops were distributed about to quell rioting. Early in the morning a crowd assembled at the prison and Robinson spoke to them through the prison bars, so enraging the jailer that he charged them, bowling them over, striking them down, placing them all in a dark cell. Captain James Oliver had charge of the troops. The two men were ironed and with Mary Dyer between them, the march to the Common was taken up, the band playing, the mob hooting, and threatening according to their views. Mary Dyer took the hands of her fellows and was rebuked by the marshal; she replied, that "it is an hour of the greatest joy I can enjoy in this world." The prisoners tried to speak, but when they began the marshal ordered the drums to be beaten to deaden their words. The procession stopped at an elm tree on the common, near the Hollis Street Church, and as the men stood with their hats on, they were taunted by the Reverend Wilson, who presents a melancholy spectacle in that connection. A ladder was placed against the tree and the prisoners having the rope about their necks, were forced to climb upward, the end was thrown over the limb and fastened. William Robinson was killed first, and just before they jerked the ladder away to let him swing, he cried out so all could hear, "I suffer for Christ, in whom I have lived and for whom I die." Stephenson, as he stood on the ladder, said, "Be it known unto all this day that we suffer not as evil doers, but for conscience sake." This, and the ladder was jerked aside and he swung into eternity for insisting upon the right of a free conscience in Boston in 1659.

The bogus execution of Mary Dyer, (the ancestor of Governor Elisha Dyer of Rhode Island in the nineteenth century) now proceeded. She had been standing by the

ladder with the rope about her neck, awaiting her turn, watching the execution of her companions. Her limbs were tied, and the Reverend Mr. Wilson, her old pastor, doubtless knowing that it was a farce, yet went so far as to throw his handkerchief over her face. She was forced up the ladder and stood for a moment awaiting the summons while the men in the secret watched her with amazement, wonder and consternation.

No regret, nothing apparently but joy at the anticipation of joining her dead companions; no resentment, only the embodiment of courage, bravery and religious faith, this good woman believing that she was gazing into eternity. The executioner placed his hand upon the ladder as he had done with Robinson and Stephenson; was apparently about to push it aside, when a shout came down the wind—"A reprieve! a reprieve!" and the sordid, brutal joke or farce, ended. In the records of Massachusetts Colony IV-part page 384, is found the following, showing that it was a part of the order of the court:

"It is ordered that the said Mary Dyer shall have liberty for forty-eight hours to depart out of this jurisdiction, after which time, being found therein, she is to be forthwith executed. And it is further ordered that she shall be carried to the place of execution and there to stand upon the Gallows with a rope about her neck until the Rest be executed; and then to return to the prison and remain as aforesaid."

The prisoner was taken down and carried back to the House of Correction. The reprieve which had been written some days previous is as follows:

"Whereas Mary Dyer is condemned by the General Court to be executed for her offences, on the petition of William

have liberty for forty-eight howers after this day to depart. Dier, hir sonne, it is ordered that the said Mary Dyer shall out of this jurisdiction, after which time, being found therein, she is forthwith to be executed, and in the meane time that she be kept a close prisoner till hir sonne or some other be ready to carry hir away within the aforesaid tyme; and it is further ordered, that she shall be carried to the place of execution, and there to stand upon the gallows, with a rope about her necke, till the rest be executed, and then to returne to the prison and remain as aforesaid."

Later when this was read to her, she sent this message to the General Court: "My life is not accepted, neither avail-eth me, in comparison with the lives and liberty of the Truth and Servants of the living God, for which in the Bowels of Love and Meekness I sought you; yet nevertheless with wicked Hands have you put two of them to Death, which makes me feel that the Mercies of the Wicked is cruelty. I rather chuse to Dye than to live, as from you, as Guilty of their Innocent Blood."

The officials were now determined to get rid of her, so they placed her on a horse which was led by some soldiers into the forest, and forced to leave the colony. Later she sailed to Shelter Island where in the home of Nathaniel Sylvester, she found rest with Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick.*

Public opinion had been so aroused in Boston and England by the hanging of the American Quakers that Endicott

*The only crime that can be traced to the Dyers is the naming of one of their sons Mahershallkashbaz, for which information I am indebted to Horatio Rogers, late Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island and lineal descendant of Governor Walter Clark, the famous Quaker governor of Rhode Island.

and his supporters put forth every effort to vindicate themselves, and this defense took the form of a Declaration of the General Court of Massachusetts, held at Boston, October 18, 1659, concerning the execution of two Quakers. This paper disappeared, but was found by Mr. Louis Dyer* of Oxford, England, in the Bodleian Library. The Proclamation is as follows:

“A Declaration of the General Court of the Massachusetts, Holden at Boston in New England, October 18, 1659, Concerning the execution of two Quakers.

“Although the justice of our proceedings against William Robinson, Marmaduke Stephenson and Mary Dyer, Supported by the Authority of this Court, the Lawes of the Country; and the Law of God, may rather persuade us to expect encouragement from all prudent and pious men, than convince us of any necessity to Apologize for the same, yet for such as men of weaker parts, out of pittty and commiseration (a commendable and Christian virtue, yet easily abused and susceptible of sinister and dangerous impressions) for want of full information, may be less satisfied, & men of perverser principles, may take occasion hereby to calumnyate us, and render us as bloody persecutors, to satisfie the one and stop the mouth of the other, we thought it requisite to declare. That about three years since divers persons professing themselves Quakers (of whose pernicious Opinions and Practices we had received Intelligence from good hands, from Barbadoes to England), arrived at Boston, whose persons were only secured to be sent away by the first opportunity, without censure or punishment, although their professed tenets, turbulent and contemptuous behaviour to Authority would have justified a severer ani-

madversion, yet the prudence of this Court was exercised onely in making provision to secure peace and order here established against their attempts whose design (we were well assured of by our own experience, as well as by the example of their predecessors in Munster) was to undermine and ruin the same, And accordingly a Law was made and published prohibiting all Masters of Ships to bring any Quakers into this jurisdiction and themselves from coming in on penalty of the House of Correction till they could be sent away. Notwithstanding which by a back door they found entrance, and the penalty inflicted on themselves, proving insufficient to restrain their impudent and insolent obtrusions, was increased by the loss of the ears of those that offended the second time, which also being too weak a defense against their impetuous fanatick fury, necessitated us to endeavor our security, and upon serious consideration after the former experiments, by their incessant assaults, a Law was made that such persons should be banished on pain of death, according to the example of England in their provision against Jesuits, which sentence being regularly pronounced at the last Court of Assistants against the parties above named, and they either returning or continuing presumptuously in this jurisdiction, after the time limited, were apprehended, and owning themselves to be the persons banished, were sentenced (by the Court) to death, according to the Law aforesaid which hath been executed upon two of them. Mary Dyer, upon the petition of her son and the mercy and clemency of this court, had liberty to depart within two dayes, which she hath accepted of.

“The consideration of our gradual proceeding, will vindicate us from the clamorous accusations of severity; our own

just and necessary defense calling upon us (other means fayling) to offer the poynt, which these persons have violently and wilfully rushed upon, and thereby become felons de se, which might it have been prevented and the Sovereign Law *Salus populi* been preserved, our former proceedings, as well as the sparing Mary Dyer, upon an inconsiderable intercession, will manifestly evince, we desire their lives absent, rather than their death present.

Printed by their order in New England,

Edward Rawson, Secretary.

Reprinted in London, 1659."

To reply to this aspersion undoubtedly drew Mary Dyer to Boston and her death. She arrived on the scene of her former trials May 21, 1660, and was promptly arrested and taken before Governor Endicott. "Are you the same Mary Dyer that was here before?" queried Endicott. "I am the same Mary Dyer that was here at the last General Court," she replied. "Then," answered the Governor, "sentence has been passed upon you, and you must prepare for execution tomorrow." To this she replied, "I came in obedience to the will of God to the last General Court, desiring you to repeal your unrighteous laws of banishment on pain of death; and that same is my work now, and earnest request, although I told you that if you refused to repeal them the Lord would send others of his servants to witness against them."

Every effort of son, father, and others was made to save her. The following letter was written by her husband, now a manuscript in the archives of the state:

“Honored Sir.

“It is with no little grief of mind, and sadness of heart that I am necessitated to be so bould as to supplicate yor Honoured self wth the Honble Assembly of yor Generall Courte to extend yor mercy and favoure once agen to me & my children. Little did I dream that ever I should have had occasion to petiton you in a matter of this nature, but so it is that throu the devine providence and yor benignity my sonn obtayned so much pittty and mercy att yor hands as to enjoy the life of his mother, now my supplication to yor Honors is to begg affectionately, the life of my deare wife. Tis true I have not seen her above this half yeare & therefore cannot tell how in the frame of her spiritt she was moved thus againe to runn so great a Hazard to herself, and perplexity to me & mine & all her friends & well wishers: so itt is from Shelter Iland about by Pequid Narragansett & to the Towne of Providence she secrettly & speedly journeyed, & as secrettly from thence came to yor jurisdiction, unhappy journey may I say, & woe to that generation say I that gives occasion thus of grief & troble (to thos that desire to be quiett) by helping one another (as I may say) to Hazard their lives for I know not what end or to what purpose: If her zeale be so greatt as thus to adventure, oh Lett yor favoure & Pitty surmount ett & save her life. Lett not yor forwonted compassion bee conquered by her inconsiderate madness, & how greatly will yor renowne be spread if by so conquering you become victorious. What shall I say more? I know you are all sensible of my condition, and lett the reffect bee, and you will see whatt my petition is and what will give me & mine peace, oh Lett mercies wings once more sore above justice ballance, & then whilst

I live shall I exalt yor goodness butt other wayes twill be a languishing sorrow, yea so great that I shuld gladly suffer the blow att once much rather; I shall forbear to trouble youre Honr wth words neyther am I in a capacity to expatiate myself att present: I only say that yourselves have been & are or may bee husbands to wife or wives, so am I, yea to one most dearly beloved: oh do not deprive me of her, but I pray give her me once agen & I shall be so much obleiged for ever, that I shall endeavor continually to utter my thanks and render yor Love & Honr most renowned: Pitty mee, I begg itt with teares, and rest yor

most humbly suppliant

W Dyre

“Portsmo 27th, of 3d: 1660

“Most Honed Sr Lett these lines by yor favor bee my Petition to yor Honble Generall Court: at present Sitting
sd W D ”

The day of execution was June 1, 1660, and a repetition of the former scene was gone through, this time without the farcial reprieve. As Mary Dyer stood on the ladder, she was told that she would be given her liberty if she would go home and remain away from the colony. Her reply was, “Nay, I cannot, for in obedience to the will of the Lord God I came, and in His will I abide faithful to death.” Captain John Webb warned her that she was guilty of her own blood, and there were many in the crowd, particularly the clergy, who were more than pleased to see the execution, and many more who resented the act, legal, though it was

an outrage. Among them was Captain Wanton* an officer of the Guard, who the next day put away his sword and became a Quaker, overwhelmed by the marvelous faith of this pure wife, mother and Quaker, who so gladly gave up her life for principle.

She stood on the ladder and was speaking of the eternal happiness she was about to inherit, when the ladder was pulled away and her body swung in the wind. It is said that it was thrown into a ditch and lies unmarked in Boston Common.

It might be assumed that the execution of Mary Dyer would have satisfied the officials, but in 1660 they continued the treatment they had been serving out to the Quakers. Unquestionably Endicott, Wilson, Cotton and the leaders in the violent attacks on the Quakers were actuated by a feeling that they were in a sense a dire menace to the colony. The same Puritans had just emerged from the witchcraft delusion, and it is easy to understand how they could become terrorized by the term Quaker, that had been painted in the blackest terms by English writers.

In this year, one of the most flagrant atrocities was the arrest of William Leddra of Barbados. He was kept in an open jail in mid-winter, chained to a log, probably in the hope that he would die. He was given a trial in January, 1661, and, though he appealed to England, was sentenced to be hung, and was executed on the Common, despite the

*This Edward Wanton was the ancestor of several Governors Wanton of Rhode Island, whose pictures may be seen in the Newport Library, and in the City Hall of Providence, Rhode Island. A descendant of these distinguished men is Mrs. Russell Sage, of New York.

efforts of Edward Wharton and others to save him. So died William Leddra, saying to a friend in the crowd, "Know this day that I am willing to offer up my life for the witness of Jesus." Edward Wharton was beaten and banished; then came the case of Wenlock Christison in 1661, his trial and sentence to death. But the end of the Puritan government was at hand. Charles the Second intervened, and the day before the one set for his execution, Christison was released with twenty-seven Quakers, who had been languishing in the jails of the colony. Among them were John Chamberlain, John and Margaret Smith, Mary Trask, Judith Brown, Peter Pearson, George Wilson, John Burstow, Elizabeth Hooton, Mary Mallins, Joan Brocksoppe, Katherine Chattam, Mary Wright, Hannah Wright, Sarah Burden, Sarah Coleman and three or four of her children, Ralph Allen, William Allen and Richard Kirby.

The Society of Friends progressed rapidly without any factions or internal dissensions until 1827, when an ominous break occurred over the doctrines of Elias Hicks. As a result, the Society separated into two distinct bodies, known to the public as Orthodox and Hicksite, though they both claimed the old name, "The Religious Society of Friends." The cause of the schism was Elias Hicks, a popular Long Island minister, whose preaching was so liberal that he soon began to be criticised by the conservative members, who *claimed* that he denied or questioned the divinity of Christ, the doctrines of the Atonement, and the inspiration and authority of the Bible. The friends and adherents of Hicks replied that the others were too arbitrary, that the Friends were being fatally decimated by them. Hicks was a gifted and magnetic speaker, very influential, hence

he succeeded in throwing the Society into a chaotic condition from which it never fully recovered; and to-day the Hicksites are looked upon as Unitarians by Orthodox Friends, though still retaining the outward guise of the original Quakers.

The separation was complete and occasioned much hard feeling, especially when the question of the division of property was concerned. In Philadelphia and New York, Hicks drew away two-thirds of the Friends, and in Baltimore, after the schism, it was found that the Orthodox party represented but one-fifth of the former number. In Ohio the division was about equal, but in Indiana the effect of the Hicksite doctrine was hardly felt. New England and South Carolina Friends remained steadfast. The Hicksite faction was never recognized by the English Friends, and to-day the two factions stand side by side, the Hicksites claiming to be Quakers, and the Orthodox Friends looking upon them as Unitarians in the Quaker garb.

There are at present seven Yearly Meetings of Hicksite Friends in America. Philadelphia, Baltimore, Indiana and Illinois, Ohio, Canada and New York representing about twenty-one thousand members. They have a number of schools, a college, "Swarthmore," and a weekly paper, the "Friends Intelligencer."

There have also been slight differences between the Orthodox Friends in America. Joseph John Gurney visited America and made a profound impression on the Friends. The views of Gurney were in no sense opposed to the fundamental interpretation of the Scriptures by Fox; but he was a progressive, and his broad and liberal views shocked some of the old and very conservative Friends, who resented his

attitude. One, John Wilbur, a New England ultra-conservative, was their chief mouthpiece. As a result, the Friends divided, some being called Gurneyites and others Wilburites; but the schism was not as important as the one caused by Elias Hicks. The London Meeting stood by Joseph John Gurney, and gave the Progressives its official recognition. The division occurred in 1845 in New England, and in Ohio in 1854, the result being that in six Yearly Meetings there were two factions. At the present time thirteen progressive meetings are connected with the London and Dublin meetings, through official correspondence, representing about ninety thousand members. There are six Wilburite meetings (Conservative) with a membership of forty-five hundred.

It is interesting to observe that Philadelphia is not included in these, though through Yearly Meetings it did recognize the Ohio Wilburites, but later withdrew, very wisely considering that the main issue of Quakerism was too important to endanger the Society by discussions over what were at best mere trivialities. Philadelphia then stood alone and is to-day considered the home of broad but Conservative Quakerism with a membership of about four thousand and eight hundred.

It has been pointed out in previous pages that non-essentials were often the cause of the greatest trouble among the Friends. This seems to have been a pseudo fundamental weakness. In a word, a sect dominated by the best possible motives, a religion based on the purest ideals, and containing the ethics of the highest philosophy, is suddenly convulsed or disturbed by a cataclysm, childish in its nature. This is well demonstrated by the Gurney schism. Joseph

John Gurney was a man of the highest culture, who has left his impress on the American Quakers; but one of his greatest crimes was in carrying a Bible to meeting, and reading from it. This dangerous innovation was seized upon, and became a red flag among the Wilburites, who pointed out that it savored of priests and the world, urging that a minister should not have aid at a meeting or go prepared, or as they quaintly expressed it, "go before the guide."

Hicks was charged by some with repudiating the Bible, and Gurney, in a sense, was said to have repudiated the inner light, the informing spirit. He was not content to sit in silence and wait for the word to come to him, he must have the Bible to read from, as he used it in the Friends School at Ackworth, England, where he endeavored to encourage the students to study the Bible, and to use it as their guide.

The conservative or Wilburite doctrine taught that the inner light, the Divine Spirit, illuminated the mind from within and was the guide, the main essential, and should always have preference, and that the Scriptures came after. This non-essential occupied the Quakers in America during thirty years; and Joseph John Gurney, one of the most intellectual members of the Society, was criticised and attacked mainly because he was suspected of preparing his discourses "in advance," which was far from a dependence on the inner light. The American Friends for seven years made every effort to induce the London Yearly Meeting to "silence" Gurney, but without avail. The prominence of Wilbur was due to the fact that he was the defacto leader of the Conservative party. Wilbur's platform argument or favorite questions were:

1. Whether justification precedes or follows sanctification.
2. The true reason for observing the First Day of the week, instead of the seventh.
3. Whether in the next world we will be given natural or spiritual bodies.
4. Whether the Holy Spirit or the Bible is the true religious guide.

These four cardinal points of disagreement are the chief ones held against Gurney, and as it was evident that none of them were by any possibility answerable, it was plainly to be seen that the controversy would sooner or later die a natural death. Yet it is a melancholy fact that it persisted for years. Several good things came out of the various controversies. Thorough the influence of Joseph John Gurney a Bible society was formed in England, in which movement he was joined by several English bishops, a movement which spread all over the world. As these lines are written the citizens of Southern California have raised a fund to place a Bible in the rooms of every public house in the State and are doing it.

Elias Hicks, by no means as black as he is painted, accomplished one work of profound importance to the world, which even his most virulent critics will not deny: He secured the passage of an act freeing the negro slaves in the State of New York. As to the breadth of his views, Hicks held that they were in accord with those of George Fox, and Worth says: "Judged by his sermons, Hicks was as orthodox as one-half of the Protestant clergy of today" (1896).

The Yearly Meeting, now known as a General Meeting, was first held in 1661, being called by George Rofe. He

says: "We came in at Rhode Island and appointed a general meeting for all Friends in these parts (meaning all New England), which was a very great meeting and very precious, and continued four days together, and the Lord was with his people and blessed them, and all departed in peace. There is good seed in that people, but the enemy keeps some under through their cruel persecution; yet their honesty preserves them, and the seed will arise as way is made for the visitation of the power of God to have free liberty amongst them."

No records are available of this General Meeting described by John Rofe to Richard Hubberthorn; but George Bishop refers to it, 1661, in his quaint "New England Judged": "About this time the general meeting at Rhode Island, about sixty miles from Boston, was set up." There is every reason for believing that these General Meetings continued with regularity yearly, from now on. John Burnyeat refers to it in 1661 as follows: "I took shipping for Rhode Island, and was there at their Yearly Meeting in 1671, which begins the Ninth of the Fourth Month every year and continues much of a week, and is a general once a year for all Friends in New England."

Rufus Jones, a distinguished student of history, son of the much beloved Eli and Sibyl Jones, to whom Friends are indebted for this interesting data, also quotes George Fox on the point in question, showing that the Yearly Meeting was begun in 1661 and continued without break. It would have been interesting to have attended this yearly Meeting; to have seen the distinguished Quakers on the "high seat." Here was Governor John Wanton, a famous preacher, in his scarlet cloak. Seven times this Quaker honored Rhode

Island, and four terms he filled as deputy. The third term had not assumed the deadful menace it has attained in the twentieth century: a good man and true was kept in office as long as he would serve. And so Stephen Hopkins was the Quaker Governor for nine terms. He was also Chief Justice for many terms, and his name is the only Quaker signature on the Declaration of Independence. This is not exactly correct as he owned a slave and for this was disowned by the Friends in 1774, so that while a Friend at heart he had been disowned two years previous to the placing of his signature on the Declaration of Independence.

Here sat William Coddington, a founder of Rhode Island; Nicholas Easton, who built the first house; Christopher Holder who owned fifty acres of land in the centre of Newport and sold it for \$500 and who bought the island of Patience from Roger Williams to give his daughter Mary as a wedding gift when she married the famous minister Peleg Slocum; Walter Clark might have been seen here, honored by the colony as Governor and with the Deputy Governorship for three terms; John Easton, who argued and pleaded with King Philip for arbitration in place of war; Mary Dyer, forbear of the late Governor Genl. Elisha Dyer of Rhode Island, but few of the distinguished company who gave to America in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries some of its greatest, best and strongest characters.

CHAPTER XX.

THE NANTUCKET QUAKERS.

Sir John Endicott, the Governor of Massachusetts Colony, who was responsible for most of the atrocities, died in March, 1665, and immediately following his decease the General Court of Massachusetts was commanded by the Royal Commissioners to remove all disabilities from the Quakers, and permit them to enjoy life and liberty undisturbed and without molestation. It is rarely that the Quakers displayed any trait that could be interpreted as viciousness, but Endicott had aroused them and carried his atrocities to the limit, and they denounced him in fearless terms in book and pamphlet, and accomplished his downfall without striking a physical blow.

The superstitious element already observed among them of prophesying against those who unjustly treated them, is seen here,—a mild pseudo evil eye which was cast at the offender. It is very evident that they believed that the Lord would punish those who waged so relentless a war against his chosen people; and they did not fail to find evidence to support them in the Gospel.

Though the intervention of Charles the Second put a stop to the extreme Inquisition methods in the colonies, it did not prevent the zealous Puritans from creating the infamous Cart Tail Law, which consisted in fastening men and women to the tail of a cart, driving them half naked through the towns, beating them as they walked. The following is a warrant drawn up by a priest who acted as a magistrate in Dover:

“To the Constables of Dover, Hampton, Salisbury, Newbury, Rowley, Ipswich, Wenham, Lynn, Boston, Roxbury, Dedham, and until these vagabond Quakers are carried out of this jurisdiction.

“You and every one of you are required, in the king’s majesty’s name, to take these vagabond Quakers, Ann Coleman, Mary Tompkins, and Alice Ambrose, and make them fast to the cart’s tail, and driving the cart through your several towns, to whip them on their backs, not exceeding ten stripes apiece on each of them in each town, and so convey them from constable to constable, till they come out of this jurisdiction, as you will answer it at your peril: and this shall be your warrant.

“Per me,

“Richard Walden.”

“At Dover, dated, Dec. 22, 1662.”

Men and women were beaten in this way in various parts of New England. Elizabeth Hooton was sentenced to be beaten through three towns, in Cambridge, Watertown and Dedham, and was then placed on a horse and driven out into the wilderness in the winter. She returned to Boston to preach, and was beaten, half naked, through Roxbury and Dedham; and again and again, the last time, beaten almost to insensibility for coming to Boston to attend the funeral of Endicott in 1665.

Space does not permit in this volume a description of all these horrors, nor is it the intention to give more than a few of the most flagrant. In 1666, the era of barbarism seemed to have ended in the colonies. Orders came from the King, “To permit such as desire it to use the Book of Common Prayer, without incurring penalty, reproach, or dis-

advantage; it being very scandalous," continues the admonition, "that any person should be debarred the exercise of their religion, according to the laws and customs of England, by those who were indulged with the liberty of being of what profession they pleased." About a year after, a similar admonition was addressed to the government of Connecticut that, "All persons of civil lives might freely enjoy the liberty of their consciences, and the worship of God in that way which they think best."

This effectually stopped the persecutions, and the Quakers in America increased in numbers. In many towns, as Lynn, Hampton, Newport, Providence, Salem and others, they became among the most influential and respected citizens, and convinced their most rabid opponents that their ways were ways of peace.

In his Journal, 1671, George Fox says:

"I mentioned before, that, upon notice received of my wife's being had to prison again, I sent two of her daughters to the king, and they procured his order to the sheriff of Lancashire for her discharge. But though I expected she would have been set at liberty, yet this violent storm of persecution coming suddenly on, the persecutors there found means to hold her still in prison. But now the persecution a little ceasing, I was moved to speak to Martha Fisher, and another woman friend, to go to the king about her liberty. They went in the faith, and in the Lord's power; and he gave them favour with the king, so that he granted a discharge under the broad seal, to clear both her and her estate after she had been ten years a prisoner, and premunired; the like whereof was scarce to be heard in England. I sent down the discharge forthwith by a friend; by whom also I

wrote to her, to inform her how to get it delivered to the justices, and also to acquaint her, that it was upon me from the Lord to go beyond sea, to visit the plantations in America, and therefore desired her to hasten to London, as soon as she could conveniently after she had obtained her liberty, because the ship was then fitting for the voyage. In the meantime I got to Kingston, and staid at John Rous's till my wife came up, and then began to prepare for the voyage. But the yearly meeting being near at hand, I tarried till that was over. Many friends came up to it from all parts of the nation, and a very large and precious meeting it was; for the Lord's power was over all, and his glorious everlastingly renowned seed of life was exalted above all.

"After this meeting was over, and I had finished my services for the Lord in England, the ship, and the friends that intended to go with me being ready, I went to Gravesend the 12th of the 6th month. The friends that were bound for the voyage with me went down to the ship the night before. Their names were Thomas Briggs, William Edmundson, John Rous, John Stubbs, Solomon Eccles, James Lancaster, John Cartwright, Robert Widders, George Pattison, John Hull, Elizabeth Hooton, and Elizabeth Miers. The vessel we were to go in was a yacht, called the Industry, the master's name was Thomas Forster, and the number of passengers about fifty."

The Industry reached Barbadoes August 12, 1671, and the little party began its labors at once, and in a congenial and receptive field, as the islands early had produced a number of converts to Quakerism, and had five meeting houses. Among other things, George Fox wrote a letter to the Governor, in which he defended the doctrine of the Quakers.

From here George Fox sailed to Jamaica and then to America, landing on the coast of Maryland and making his way slowly to New England, arriving at Newport the 30th of May, 1672, where he held meetings with John Burnyeat, John Cartright, George Pattison, John Stubbs, James Lancaster and Robert Widders. While in Newport, Fox began a temperance crusade, in all probability the first one inaugurated in the town. He was entertained by Governor Easton and importuned him and the magistrates to pass "a law against drunkenness and against them that sell liquors to make people drunk," also a law against fighting, swearing and dueling.

While here, he was challenged to a theological discussion by Roger Williams, but the challenge did not reach him until he had started south. William Edmundson endeavored to take his place, and so successfully, that Roger Williams in describing him said that he had "a flash of wit, a face of brass, and a tongue set on fire, from the Hell of lyes and fury." George Fox traveled through Long Island where Christopher Holder joined him, and many of the old towns as Flushing, where stands the old Bowne House, were visited. In his Journal, he says "The same day James Lancaster and Christopher Holder went over the bay to Rye on the continent in Governor Winthrop's government, and had a meeting there."

The growth and development of Quakerism was now extremely rapid. The three colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts and Maine had a population of forty thousand, and Rhode Island six thousand, many of whom were Quakers, and they captured many distinguished men, including the Wantons, Eastons, Scotts and Bulls, many of whom in later

years were governors. In 1669 the Quakers practically controlled the political situation, and in 1672 they elected to office the governor, deputy governor, all the magistrates, and completely controlled the political situation in Rhode Island. The Quakers here tried to carry out reforms, that are being fought for by commercial, banking and private interests to-day. The American Peace Society is very active in 1913. Dr. David Starr Jordan, one of America's profound scientists, is devoting much of his time to arguments against the barbarism of war; and it is interesting to note that, in 1677, when the Quakers were playing the game of politics, and placing their men in office in Rhode Island, their *desideratum* was not spoil, office, graft, influence or personal aggrandizement; but the opportunity to give emphasis to their peculiar doctrines. They used the political machinery of the colony of Rhode Island for that purpose,—to emphasize the fact that war is a crime; that the killing of men in battle is legalized murder; that the slaughter of the young and agile men is a menace to posterity and the virility of the nation.

The World Peace Foundation* or the Peace Society to-day has not stopped war; but when the Quakers captured Rhode Island two and a half centuries ago and elected all the officers, they put into operation for the first time since

*In connection with attempts to produce peace, the efforts of Mr. Andrew Carnegie have endeared him not only to the thinking portion of the American people but to the world at large. Mr. Ginn, the American publisher of the publications of the World Peace Foundation of Boston—the efforts of Albert Smiley during many years of the Mohonk Conference—are all suggestive that the ideas of the early Quakers two and a half centuries ago were anticipants of modern culture and ripe intelligence.

Christianity began, a doctrine in which war had no part. Non-resistance, which overwhelmed Endicott, became the law. Christians had forgotten that war was opposed to their primal principle. It was Maximilian, who, in the Diocletian reign, said when enrolled, "I cannot fight for any earthly consideration. I am now a Christian;" and Lactantius, the Latin, wrote, "To engage in war cannot be lawful for the righteous man, whose warfare is that of righteousness itself." In 1670, as in 1913, the Quakers refused to fight; first because they were Christians and it was wrong; secondly, because war is a remnant of barbarism, a wholesale murder at the instigation of a few. One result of this policy was that Rhode Island during this period was singularly free from trouble with the Indians.

One of the important New England settlements of Quakers was that of Nantucket. Thomas Macy of Scituate was the first Friend to settle there with Edward Starbuck, Isaac Coleman and, doubtless, James Coffin, a son of Tristram Coffin, who became the first governor, from whom are descended many of the notable Coffins of America to-day, as the late Charles F. Coffin of Lynn, Charles Albert Coffin, the distinguished President of the General Electric Company, Mr. Doak of Colgrove, and others, all descendants of Sir Tristram Coffin of England. Thomas Macy sought Nantucket that he might enjoy liberty of conscience and escape the tyranny of the clergy and those in authority. The population of Nantucket grew rapidly and on this island, in a sense isolated, were founded some of the most conspicuous of American Colonial Quaker families: Macy, Gardner, Hussey, Coffin, Starbuck, Holder, Mitchell, Swain, Wing, Bunker, Folger, and many more.

Among the early arrivals were Richard Gardiner and wife, driven from Salem for attending Quaker meeting in 1673. Stephen Hussey and John Swain were among the early Quakers prior to the building of a meeting house. Then came Thomas Story, Thomas Chalkley and John Richardson, ministers. The latter was brought to the island by Peleg Slocum, who married Mary Holder, the third great grandmother of Mrs. Russell Sage. John Richardson held a series of meetings in the home of Mary Starbuck, née Coffin, which continued some time. The Nantucket Monthly Meeting was established on the 16th of May, 1780.

In 1743 Nantucket was a flourishing place. About this time Daniel Holder, believed to be a great grandson of Christopher Holder, settled here, and became the first large ship-builder of the colony and of America. Edmund Peck came from England and visited the Island this year. He found three hundred families, three-fourths of them Quakers. The meeting house was large and commodious, with a capacity of fifteen hundred "and it was very full when we were there." In 1755 Samuel Fothergill found fifteen hundred attending meeting. Whaling was then a prominent feature of the business life, and the annual catch by the Nantucket Quakers in 1743 realized one hundred thousand dollars.

The Newport Yearly Meeting alone had an attendance now of nearly two thousand five hundred. The story of Quakerism in Nantucket has a pathetic interest; its rise and fall was in every sense remarkable. In about 1800 the Society was at the flood-tide of its development. A large meeting house erected in 1730 stood on the corner of Main and Saratoga Streets, and this was used for sixty years,



DESK OF DANIEL HOLDER
Nantucket, 1750

For Eliza, 6 children			
Samuel Holder, 3 rd Mo 27 th	1751		
Jonathan Holder, 1 st Mo 20	1753		
Thomas Holder, 9 th Mo 28	1754		
Richard Holder, 1 st Mo 8	1757		
For Eliza, 6 children			
Samuel Holder, 8 th Mo 21 st	1760		
Isaac Holder, 7 th Mo 18 th	1762		
Daniel Holder, 11 th Mo 14 th	1764		
Isaac Holder, 12 th Mo 1 st	1774		

PAGE FROM DANIEL HOLDER'S BIBLE

when a new building was planned on Broad Street, and the old meeting house re-built on Main Street.

There were now two meetings and many Quakers, as the Macys, Rotches, Rodmans, Joys, Holders, Swifts, Howlands, Mitchells and Husseys, had become well-to-do, if not wealthy for the period, founding the many families which now figure in the records of the Colonial families of the United States. Henry Barnard Worth writes of this period:

"The men and women sat, the elder folk facing the younger, from their rising seats, with faces grave beneath the stiff straight brim or dusky bonnet. On the highest seats, where the low partition boards sundered the men and women, there alone sat they whom most the spirit visited and spake through them and gave authority.

"Yet unknown to themselves they had reached the pinnacle of their prosperity, and soon would begin the decline which would be steady and relentless, until they should disappear from the Island. They heeded not the clouds that warned them of coming storms, but condemning all changes as dangerous, they sailed on in the cause given them two centuries before by George Fox, until stranded, shattered, and wrecked on one rock after another, they have almost vanished from the sea, and rival sects are now in undisputed dominion on the island."

The colony grew rapidly in wealth, its fisheries became of national importance; but it was not long before the Quakers began to lose ground. The gradual development of the vast country attracted many, and the Macys, Starbucks, Rotches, Coffins, Howlands, Slocums, Holders and others began the great movements which carried these Nantucket

families all over the country to the regions safe from the Indians. They went to Lynn, Boston, Maine, New York and the far West. In 1812 the French spoliations ruined many Quakers and caused them to migrate, having lost all their vessels and property. The regulations of the meetings were very severe, and were insisted on so rigorously that many members were lost from this cause. This was particularly true of disownments. A Friend wrote: "It has been my lot to see many cases of disownment of members from which my own feelings revolted, and in which the benevolent feelings of valuable Friends appeared to have been violated to uphold the discipline. I have seen men of natural kindness and tendencies become hard hearted and severe. I have seen justice turned back and mercy laid aside."

The causes were often more than trivial, and a perusal of an old record possessed by the author gives rise to wonderment that anyone was left. Henry Barnard was disowned for going to sea in an armed vessel. A fundamental principle of the Friends was opposition to war. Members were disowned for refusing to say "thou," for wearing buckles, for marrying out of the Society, for attending a place where there was music, for becoming a Mason, for "deviating in dress and address from the plainness of our profession." "H. B. G. had attended a marriage performed by a minister where there was music." "S. P. had sailed in a privateer." "W. G. H. had joined a company at a hall and was concerned in a lottery." "C. G. Coffin married a woman not a member." "L. C. for frequenting a Methodist Society." "E. M. disowned for not paying his debts." A physician was disowned for certifying that a *soldier* was entitled to a pension. Quakers could attend a Gentile wedding at

Nantucket, but during the act of marriage they could not remain in the room; if they did they were disowned, so, many looked in at the windows. At one wedding thirty persons left the room, but returned immediately after the ceremony. So strict an accounting, with no method of replenishing the Society, began to tell on it. Most of the disownments resulted from men or women marrying outside of the Society, an escape from a pernicious custom that would in time have caused the deterioration of the strongest people, or left its irrevocable physical stamp on them, as with the Jews.

As the Quakers increased in the colony, they began to differ slightly, and three types were soon recognized,—Nantucket, Wilburite and Gurneyite, a series of divisions that were ominous warnings to the Island Society. The battles of Hicks, Gurney and Wilbur swept the sea-girt island with all the earnestness capable among Friends, and the juggernaut of disownment was eternally in operation. As fast as Friends in Nantucket were suspected of Hicksite leanings, they were charged with "disorderly conduct" and disowned.

Under this, Gilbert Coffin, Sylvanus Macy, Roland Hussey, Obed Barney, Daniel Mitchell, W. B. Coffin, Charles Pitman, Gideon Swain, Matthew Myrick, William Watson, Thomas Macy, Peter and Obed Macy and their wives were disowned. The disowned members established a Hicksite meeting on Main Street, which led a desultory existence, and finally failed, the members joining the Unitarian Church, which in later years was so rich that the edifice was built of mahogany.

The Friends had hardly recovered from the Hicksite in-

vasion when they found themselves engaged in a war of words with the Joseph John Gurney party, which lasted thirty years. The majority of Friends in Nantucket joined the Wilburites; but the matter was at last brought before the New England Yearly Meeting at Newport in 1845 for final adjudication. To anyone who did not understand the system upon which the Quakers conducted their meetings, it might have been assumed that it was a waste of time for the Wilburites to appeal to this highest ecclesiastical court, as it was well known that the Gurneyites were in the majority. The Friends do not vote at a meeting. A clerk is appointed, who is in a sense absolute in power. When a question comes up, he asks for opinions, and when all have been heard he decides as to the sense of the meeting, and makes a minute or record of it. There is no recall to this, no appeal to a higher court. The clerk is not required to pay any attention to the majority. He weighs the question as he sees fit, takes into account the age, education, the intelligence or spiritual reputations of the speakers; in a word, endeavors to give the judicial sense of the meeting *pro* or *con*; and it sometimes happens that a small minority will win over a large majority. This being the case, a party desiring to win endeavors to secure the appointment of a clerk holding their general views, as there is no recall, nor could the defeated party go behind the decision of the clerk, which, it may be said, is generally just, judicial and fair.

When the Wilburites reached Newport they bent all their endeavors to secure the appointment of Thomas B. Gould of Newport as clerk; but the clerk of the previous year, a Gurneyite, according to the rule, was obliged to preside at the new meeting. He found that it was the "Sense of the



JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY



JOSEPH GRINNELL
New Bedford and New York

meeting," that he "should continue for another year," so he made a minute to that effect; and soon found that it was the "sense of the meeting" that the Wilburites were to receive no encouragement. According to the rules, if the contestants fail to secure the election of their choice for clerk, they must withdraw,—this being the Quaker way of settling a division. Hence the Wilburites withdrew and organized the New England Yearly Meeting. The division was unfortunate in many ways, as the Friends fought their affairs out in the Courts. The Wilburites captured the Swansea Monthly Meeting building at Fall River. Both parties elected overseers, and both claimed it, but the Supreme Court gave it to the Gurneyites. In the course of this trial, the learned Judge Shaw said that "the unhappy division between the Wilburites and the Gurneyites rose from an apprehension of the former that the latter were disseminating false doctrines, of which," he said, "there was no evidence."

Worth, the historian of Nantucket, goes so far as to say that "A Friend told me the real cause came from the ill will which John Wilbur entertained towards Gurney, was due to the fact that when Wilbur visited England he was not allowed to smoke in Gurney's house." Some very comical incidents occurred as the result of this schism. When a Wilburite, Thomas B. Gould, visited Nantucket and rose to speak in meeting, Cromwell Barnard, an elderly Gurneyite Friend arose and said, "Friend thee can sit down." Up rose Peleg Mitchell, a staunch Wilburite, who said in stentorian tones, "Friend thee can go on," and on the Friend went amid the tears of the women and the agitation of all.

In 1845 a complete and irrevocable division took place in Nantucket, and the Gurney party, acting in accord with the

Sandwich Monthly Meeting, called themselves the Nantucket Monthly Meeting of Friends. They secured the Abner Coffin house at first, and later rented the Hicksite meeting house. The Court had decided that the Wilburites were the 'separatists,' hence the Gurneyites had a judicial claim to all property, and in Nantucket the singular and melancholy spectacle was witnessed of the minority ruling, as the Gurneyites had but eighty-eight members, and the Wilbur body numbered one hundred and forty, seventy-nine or eighty wavering. Nantucket was the only meeting in New England where the Gurneyites or liberals did not win.

The Gurney Meeting now proceeded to exercise its powers by disowning the separatists, and about seventy-five representatives of the leading families were virtually excommunicated, among them the following historic names, whose descendants have scattered all over the United States: Frederick Arthur, Mary Arthur, James Austin, John Boadle, Hezekiah Barnard, Mary Barnard, Susan Barnard, Alexander G. Coffin, Rachel Hussey, David G. Hussey, Elizabeth Hussey, Benjamin Hussey, Gorham Hussey, Lydia M. Hussey, Hepsibeth C. Hussey, Nancy Hussey, John L. Coffin, Joseph G. Coleman, Phebe Coffin, Rebecca Coffin, Susan Coffin, John G. Coffin, Elizabeth Coffin, John Franklin Coffin, Eliza Coleman, Anna Clark, James B. Coleman, Lydia Coleman, Elizabeth Clark, Sally Easton, Eliza Ann Easton, John Folger, Lydia Folger, Hannah Maria Gardner, Prince Gardner, Mary Gardner, Benjamin Gardner, Rachel Gardner, Elizabeth Graham, Lydia G. Hussey, Lydia Monroe, Alice Mitchell, Moses Mitchell, David Mitchell, Peleg Mitchell, Mary S. Mitchell, Susan Mitchell, Mary Macy,

Deborah Paddack, Eunice Paddack, Laban Paddack, Mary Paddack, John Paddack, Sarah Paddack, Micajah Swain, Hezekiah Swain, Lydia Swain, Obed B. Swain, Eunice Swain, Margaret Swain, Joseph B. Swain, Richard G. Swain.

This extraordinary and deadly contest, fatal as far as the effect upon the Society at large, was waged for years. It even affected the dead, as by the Court's decision the Wilburites lost their rights in the burial ground. By an agreement they were at last allowed to use the south end of the lot; and to-day in this court of the dead, the melancholy spectacle is seen of rows of stones in the north end, monuments of the Gurneyites who now believed in visible memorials of the dead, while on the south end a marked and significant absence of any reminder, told the graphic story of the plain Wilburite dead, who believed that grave stones were vanities of a sinful world. In the Lynn burial ground a somewhat similar division may be seen over a cause which may also be classed as a "non-essential."

The Gurney faction gradually faded away in Nantucket until the year 1867 when it was a memory, and the property was handed over to the New Bedford Monthly Meeting, a pathetic consummation of fruitless endeavor. The Wilburites, at the separation of 1845, denounced the Gurneyites as "spurious" and the meeting proceeded to disown all the Gurneyites, among whom were Elizabeth Austin, Cromwell Barnard, Susanna Coleman, Deborah Coffin, Lydia Coffin, Lydia Fisher, Hannah Gardner, Robert B. Hussey, Hannah Hussey, Judith Hussey, Cyrus Hussey, Lydia Hussey, Benjamin Mitchell, William Mitchell, Miriam Starbuck, Abigail Allen, Matthew Barney, Lydia Bunker, Robert Cof-

fin, Herman Crocker, George Easton, William Hosier, Lyda Hosier, Obed Fitch, Kimball Starbuck, Rachel Swain, Abram R. Wing and Lydia Worth. This meeting was ultra-conservative compounded, and men and women were disowned for the slightest evasion of doctrines. A member who allowed a musical instrument in the house was disowned, also several for neglecting meetings, marrying out of the meetings, for attending meetings of another society. The case of Narcissa B. Coffin illustrates the severe rule of the Wilburites. In 1858 this minute appears: "10 mo., 24, 1858. This meeting after a time of weighty deliberation has united with the women in approving the gift and public appearance in the ministry of Narcissa B. Coffin."

In 1864 she was charged with "going before her guide." In other words, she had the temerity to think of her sermon before she entered the meeting; that is, had prepared herself. The specific charge on the Nantucket records is:

"7 mo., 28, 1864. She was deposed and silenced by the Nantucket Meeting 'for not keeping on the watch and abiding in a state of humility and abasedness of self.'" Thus, one of the most remarkable of the New England women preachers was silenced for twenty-five years, being restored in Lynn in 1889 after all those who silenced her were dead.

Aside from the Hicksite, Wilburite and Gurneyite factions there were further potentialities and fatalities which weakened the sect, as the Job Otis and Joseph Hoag controversy, a non-essential that hastened the end in Nantucket.

In 1868 the Meeting in Nantucket had dwindled down to such a small number that the separate meeting was given up, and the men and women held their meetings together. In

1894 but one Wilburite was left in Nantucket. The meeting house was sold to the Nantucket Historical Society; and the valuable historical records placed in the hands of Professor James W. Oliver of Lynn, where ten members of the meeting had moved and where scores of the descendants of Daniel Holder now lived, the immediate line being still Quakers, represented by Aaron Holder, the author's grandfather.

The Quakers of Nantucket were an extraordinary people. They were the founders and descendants of some of the most notable American Colonial families, but in the years between 1700 and 1900, or two hundred years, they completely disappeared from the island, the larger portion having migrated to the south and west to found the sturdy families who still serve under the militant but liberalized banner of George Fox all over the American continent. A more extraordinary example of fatal austere efforts in the direction of complete moral perfection has never been seen. The slightest wavering was met with disownment. The unruly member, at the first suggestion of trouble, was amputated, lest he or she should infect the main body with the vanities of the world. Unquestionably those who remained or could remain were the elect, were so far as known morally perfect; but the result would suggest that the system was, in Nantucket at least, too rigorous for human nature in its present stage of development.

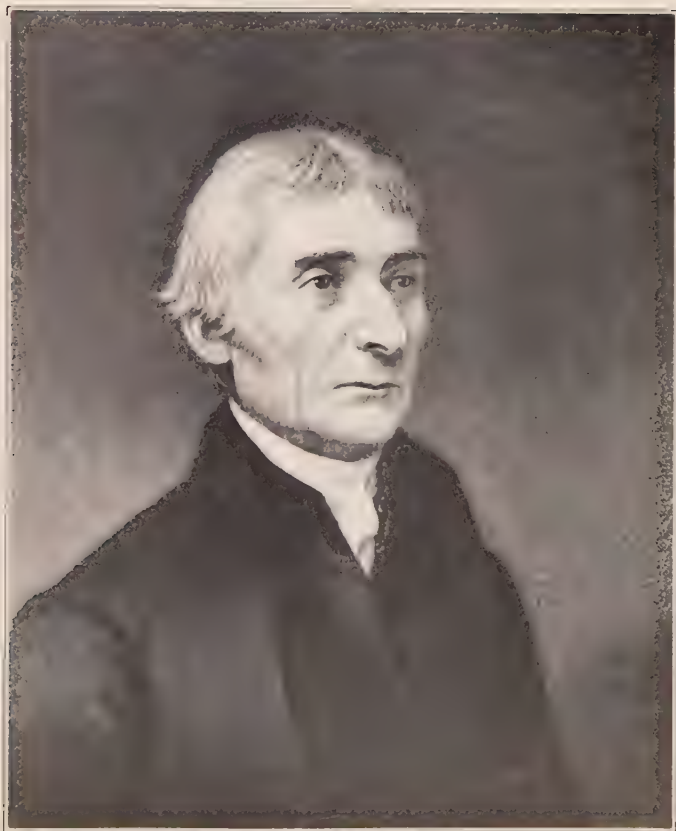
The jail in this Quaker community was rarely used, and as late as 1870, I was told that it was falling into disuse, and that, when a prisoner was thrown into durance vile, he was placed on his honor not to escape.

CHAPTER XXI.

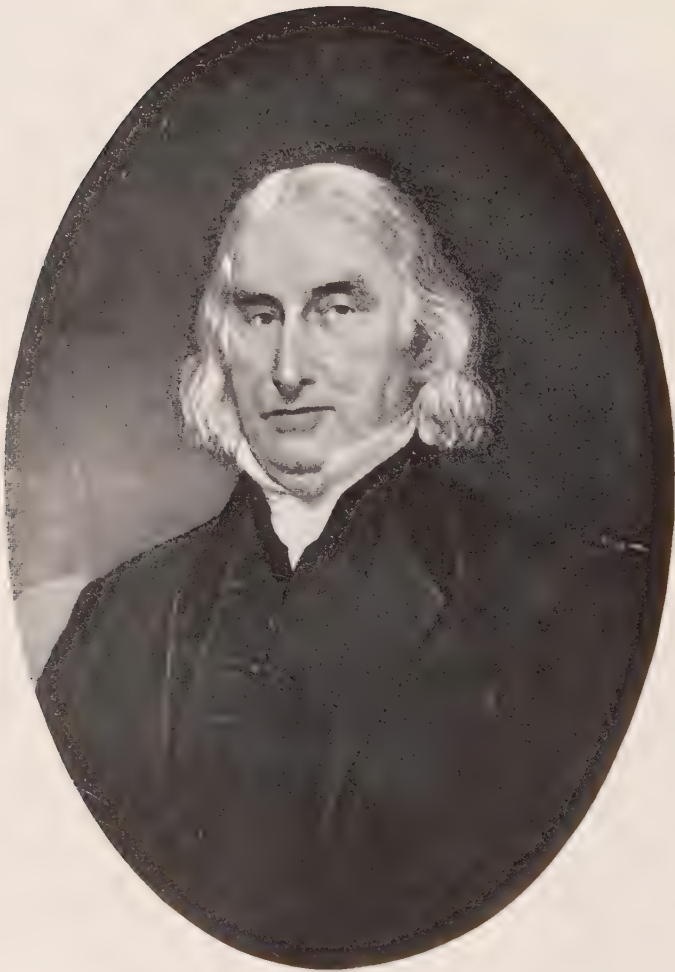
THE NEW YORK INVASION.

The ship "Woodhouse," whose extraordinary log has been given in a previous chapter, after landing Christopher Holder and John Copeland in New England, proceeded to New Amsterdam with the rest of the Quaker ministers, who proposed to start the campaign in a colony which virtually guaranteed religious liberty. The policy of the Dutch had been pre-eminently for toleration; and this had attracted, especially under the rule of Governor Stuyvesant, a large migration of Huguenots from France, of whom later, Bishop Provost, the first Episcopal Bishop of New York, was a descendant of the family of that name. There was a great invasion of Waldenses from Piedmont, together with English, Scotch, Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Moravians and many more, all attracted by the promise of religious freedom, which had been practically guaranteed by the Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company in an address to Governor Stuyvesant. In this ponderous paper, we read, "The consciences of men," they say, "ought to be free and unshackled, so long as they continue moderate, peaceable, inoffensive and not hostile to government. Such have been the maxims of prudence and toleration by which the magistrates of this city have been governed; and the consequences have been that the oppressed and persecuted from every country have found among us an asylum from distress. Follow in the same steps, and you will be blest."

The "Woodhouse" party, composed of Richard Hodgson,



STEPHEN GRELLET



WILLIAM ROTCH
New Bedford

Richard Doudney, Mary Weatherhead, Dorothy Waugh and Sarah Gibbons, was the initial Quaker movement in the Dutch colony. The Dutch were supposed to be extremely friendly to these seekers after religious liberty, and there had been many migrations from Lynn, Massachusetts, under the leadership of Lady Moody, who reached Lynn from England in 1640, and bought a large estate, now known as Swampscott, one of the most beautiful locations on the Atlantic coast. Driven out by the bigotry of the Puritans, Lady Moody moved to Gravesend, and took many Lynn families with her, all of whom, according to Winthrop, were infected by the teachings of the Anabaptists.

About forty Lynn families had preceded Lady Moody and had settled about Flushing, Jamaica, Oyster Bay and other towns. As the movement was made for religious freedom, it became in later years famous as a resort for Quakers.

The "Woodhouse" Quakers landed at New Amsterdam. Captain Fowler at once paid his respects to Governor Stuyvesant, and reported him "a man moderate both in words and action." But the Dutch Governor had his limitations, one of which was that he did not believe in the public appearance of women. This was demonstrated when Dorothy Waugh and Mary Weatherhead attempted to give a street meeting soon after their arrival. No time was wasted on the Quakers; they were arrested and thrown into jail: a very filthy one, if the accounts can be believed. In the Ecclesiastical records of New York appears the following interesting account of the first reception of Quakers: "On August 6th (or 12th) a ship came from the sea to this place, having no flag flying from the topmast, nor from any other part of the ship . . . They fired no salute before

the fort. When the master of the ship came on shore and appeared before the Director-General, he rendered him no respect, but stood with his hat firm on his head, as if a coat! At last information was gained that it was a ship with Quakers on board.

"We suppose they went to Rhode Island, for that is the receptacle of all sorts of riff-raff people and is nothing else than the sewer of New England. They left behind two strong young women. As soon as the ship had departed, these (women) began to quake and go into a frenzy, and cry out loudly in the middle of the street that men should repent, for the day of judgment was at hand. Our people, not knowing what was the matter, ran to and fro while one cried 'fire' and another something else. The Fiscal seized them both by the head and led them to prison."

The Quakers now discovered that toleration had no significance in the Dutch colony, and that the Baptists and others had been violently abused. Richard Hodgson was arrested for preaching in Flushing, dragged to New York behind a cart and before Stuyvesant, and as an example of what the rest might expect, given a sentence of two years, hard labor. A few days later he was seen on the street chained to a wheelbarrow. Being innocent he refused to work, when he was stripped and beaten by a negro until he fell to the ground, and this was repeated. Then he was hung up to the ceiling by the hands, while a log of wood was attached to his feet to stretch him out. This was an illustration of the New York Inquisition which was a very good imitation of the original. This Quaker refused everything but liberty, as he was innocent; and doubtless he would have been killed by the treatment of Stuyvesant,

had not the Governor's sister, Mrs. Bayard, secured his release. Everyone who entertained the Quakers was tabooed, and the Governor now carried the war into Long Island, where Lady Moody, who had become a Quaker, was using her house as a meeting, and was surrounded by migrant Lynn Quakers.

Henry Townsend was found guilty of breaking the Conventicle Act, and members of the Tilton, Hart, Farrington, Thorn, Feak, Browne, Underhill and other families were persecuted here, to such an extent that the inhabitants of Flushing of all classes protested to the Governor, and denounced the outrages. John Fisk says:

"The names of thirty-one valiant men are signed to this document. I do not know whether Flushing has ever raised a fitting monument to their memory. If I could have my way I would have the protest carved on a stately obelisk, with the name of Edward Hart, town clerk, and the thirty other Dutch and English names appended, and would have it set up where all might read it for the glory of the town that had such men for its founders."

As elsewhere, persecution resulted in the growth and strengthening of Quakerism. The Quakers increased rapidly in Long Island, and were visited by Christopher Holder and others of the "Woodhouse" party, who gathered into the Quaker fold many from other denominations. Governor Stuyvesant was ultimately silenced by public opinion, and Long Island particularly became famous as a hotbed of Quakerism, Flushing, Jamaica and Oyster Bay being settled by Friends. Shelter Island also was a famous region settled by the Quakers, Thomas Rous, Constant and Nathaniel Sylvester and Thomas Middleton, who opened

their hearts and homes to the suffering Friends. At Shelter Island is found one of the very few monuments to the early Quakers. In the New England Historical and Genealogical Register I found the following description of this tomb, erected by Professor Horsford of Harvard:

(On the Horizontal Tablet of the Table Tomb:)

To Nathaniel Sylvester.

First Resident Proprietor of the Manor of Shelter Island under grant of Charles Second A. D. 1666 (Arius). An Englishman, Intrepid, Loyal to Duty, Faithful to Friendship, the Soul of Integrity and Honor, Hospitable to Worth and Culture, sheltering ever the persecuted for conscience sake. The daughters of Mary and Phoebe Gardiner Horsford, Descendants of Patience, daughter of Nathaniel Sylvester and wife of the Huguenot Benjamin L'Homme-dieu, in Reverence and Affection for the good name of their ancestor in 1884 set up these stones for a Memorial.

1610 1680.

Under the Table:

A list of names of Descendants of Anne Brinley, of the female side.

Succession of Proprietors. The Manhansett Tribe. The King. The Earl of Sterling, James Farrett, Stephen Good-year, Nathaniel Sylvester, Giles Sylvester, Brinley Sylvester, Thomas Deering, Sylvester Deering, Mary Catherine L'Hommedieu, Samuel Smith Gardner, Eben Norton Horsford.

On the South Steps are engraved the following names of friends of Nathaniel Sylvester who had become distinguished in various ways, as follows:

Of the Sufferings for conscience sake of friends of Nathaniel Sylvester, most of whom sought shelter here, including

George Fox,
 Founder of the Society of Quakers
 and his Follows,

Mary Dyer, William Leddra,
 William Robinson, Marmaduke Stephenson,
 executed on Boston Common.

On East Steps:

Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick Despoiled, imprisoned, starved, whipped, banished, Who fled here to die.

On the North Steps:

David Gould, bound to gun carriage and lashed. Edward Wharton, "The much Scourged." Christopher Holder, "The Mutilated." Humphrey Norton, "The Branded." John Rous, "The Maimed." Giles Sylvester, "The Champion." Ralph Goldsmith, "The Shipmaster." Samuel Shattuck, of the "King's Message." (These stones are a Testimony.)

One of the well-known members of the Society in Flushing was John Bowne, whose old house still stands. I visited it a few years ago, and saw the elm under which it is supposed George Fox and Christopher Holder preached. The Bowne house was, doubtless, the first meeting house in Flushing. Bowne was soon arrested as a "conventicle," and was actually banished to Holland by Stuyvesant, but was released by the West India Company and sent back. One of the first men he met in the streets was Stuyvesant,

who "seemed much abashed by what he had done;" but he showed that he was a man by saying, "I am glad to see you safe at home." John Bowne replied, "I hope thou will never harm any more Friends."

The result of Bowne's persecution brought from the West India Company a most decided rebuke to Stuyvesant, and a promise of toleration. The following year the English captured the colony from the Dutch, and in the agreement were the words—"liberty of conscience in divine worship and church discipline." This was in 1664 and the Quakers had since 1657 suffered much. In 1673 the Dutch again conquered the colony, losing it again in 1674. During all this period the Quakers increased, but underwent many trials, as they refused to take sides or fight; consequently, their motives were not always understood.

John Burnyeat visited New York in 1671 and later George Fox, who in 1672, with Christopher Holder and James Lancaster, visited Rye, Gravesend, Flushing, and various towns in what is now Connecticut. Later still Samuel Bownas visited this region, preaching in Hempstead. He was arrested at Flushing, bail being fixed at ten thousand dollars. At this Bownas said, "If you make the bail three pence, I will not give it;" nor did he, the jury at last releasing him, though the Judge swore to send him to England "chained to the deck of a man of war."

In 1699 New York had a small meeting; the Quakers were rapidly increasing, but were often annoyed and ill-treated. Thomas Chalkley, Edmund Peckover, William Rickett and others visited New York, and slowly but surely, the Society increased; now suffering drawbacks, now surging ahead, establishing the principles of the Friends firmly

and forming the base for the great interest in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The highest point attained by the Friends in New York was in the nineteenth century, between 1825 and 1875. The Society was strong numerically, made up of the descendants of the old pioneers; and was an unacknowledged aristocracy of men and women of high cultivation and education that left a strong and enduring impression on the city and community, as there are very few old aristocratic families of New York that did not inter-marry with the great and rich Quaker families, which in cultivation and worth have been leaders. In 1850 the population of New York was ninety thousand, and the Friends meeting numbered eighteen hundred and twenty-six, living in the city proper.

The following Quaker names had a definite influence in all affairs:—Wood, Bowne, Murray, Eddy, Pearsall, Collins, Lawrence, Underhill, Seaman, Franklin, Day, Mott, Tatum and many more, well known between 1800 and 1825. Robert Bowne was a lineal descendant of the original Thomas who was banished to Holland. It was Robert who gave a certain boy named John Jacob Astor his first position to “do chores,” and “beat skins.” Astor must have shown his ability early, as he received a dollar a day as a boy. Mr. William Waldorf Astor has a silver watch given the “boy” by Robert Bowne in 1785. On the back is the inscription, “Presented to J. J. Astor by R. Bowne, 1785.” The Bownes became a wealthy family; a branch has settled in Oregon. Walter Bowne was one of the early mayors of New York. Robert Murray was a famous New York Quaker. One of his sons was Lindley Murray, the author of the English Grammar. Murray Hill was named for this

family. What is known as the "Murray Fund" of forty-one thousand dollars, added to by William N. Mott and David Sands, and now amounting to fifty thousand dollars, was originated by Lindley Murray.

All these Friends were of the rigorous type. They kept to the old ways with a persistency that undoubtedly drove many a youth from the Society. In the early part of the nineteenth century, according to William Wood, men often wore their hats at the dinner table, and Emma Mitchell of Nantucket stated that she remembered seeing her husband's father without his hat but once. William Wood, in his delightful paper entitled, "Friends of the Nineteenth Century," says, "Another old Friend, Thomas Hawkhurst, once entered a room where some Friends were dining, exclaimed, throwing up his hands, 'O sorrowful, sorrowful, a whole table full of men with their hats off.' My uncle, John Wood, who was something of a wag, said he believed that Thomas Hawkhurst must have been born with his hat on."

One of the first meeting houses in New York, was built in 1704, in Crown Street, or Little Green, later Liberty Street, where the Thorburns, Corses, Woods, Tabors, Thornes, Franklins, Leggetts, Pearsalls, Hicks, and Willets attended. Most of the New York Quakers lived in a fashion that was considered luxurious by some, and Willett Hicks was called the "Quaker Bishop" on account of his aristocratic tendencies, his carriage and foot-man. He was one of the most eloquent of the Quaker preachers of his time.

In 1802 there was presumably a Friends meeting house on Liberty Street, though it may have been the one mentioned above. It was surrounded by a burial ground. In

1825 the Friends purchased property on Houston Street, east of the Bowery, and the burial ground was moved. In 1849 the city crowded it out and it was removed to Jericho, Long Island. The Friends did not believe in monuments or even head stones, and a book of records alone told the story. In 1775 there was a meeting house on Queen Street, re-named Pearl, near Franklin Square, now lost in the shadow of giant buildings. This meeting house was 50x70 feet, and was one of the features of the city. In an old advertisement of John Jacob Astor it is referred to. The complete advertisement is as follows:

J. JACOB ASTOR,

AT NO. 81 QUEEN STREET,

Next door but one to the Friends' Meeting House,

HAS FOR SALE AN ASSORTMENT OF

PIANOFORTES OF THE NEWEST CONSTRUCTION,

MADE BY THE BEST MAKERS IN LONDON, WHICH

HE WILL SELL ON REASONABLE TERMS.

HE GIVES CASH FOR ALL KINDS OF FURS, AND HAS FOR SALE A QUANTITY OF CANADA BEAVER AND BEAVER COATING, RACCOON SKINS, AND RACCOON BLANKETS, MUSKRAT SKINS, ETC., ETC.

The old meeting houses in later years underwent many vicissitudes, and, during the Revolution, the Pearl Street building was seized and used by the British as a barracks. Next to the Pearl Street meeting was a Quaker school for boys and girls, under the care of the monthly meeting. In 1870 a meeting was built in Hester Street, and in 1825 another was built in Rose Street. Its dimensions were 58x80 feet. In 1828 came the famous Hicksite division.

The latter being in the majority, the Orthodox members were forced to give up the meeting houses, and to hold their meetings for a while in Rutger's Medical College. In 1828 a meeting-house was built on Henry Street, between Market and Catherine; later the Jews bought it, and it was used as a synagogue. In 1835 Friends built a school on Henry Street, and a meeting-house on Orchard Street at an expense of forty-six thousand dollars, the contributors to the fund being William F. Mott, Samuel Mott (his brother), Jos. S. Shotwell, Benj. Clark, Robert I. Murray, Henry Hinsdale, John Hancock, Thomas Buckley, Wm. Birdsall, Samuel Wood, and his sons, Samuel S. and William, Lindley Murray, John Clapp, Joshua S. Underhill, and his sons, Abraham S., Walter and Ira B., J. and J. Hilyard, Thos. Cock, John R. Willis, Stacy B. Collins. Smaller sums, from \$100 down, were contributed by about one hundred other members. In this latter class were included: Richard H. Bowne, Richard Lawrence, Wm. Cromwell, Edmund H. Prior, Wm. B. Collins, Davis Sands, Pelatiah P. Page, Wm. R. Thurston, Deborah C. Hinsdale, John Had-dock, Henry Mosher, and others. Twelve years later a larger school was built on a lot to the north of this, and here a monthly meeting was held until 1859. In this year the up-town movement was so pronounced that the Orchard Street meeting was given up, and Friends met in the chapel of Rutger's Female Institute on Madison Street, near Clinton.

The New York Friends, like those of New England, were well educated and highly cultivated. This was due to the fact that they had an active "concern" for education, which found its expression in many ways, from boarding

schools for boys and girls to schools for negro slaves, charity and church schools and many more. The Friends founded the first non-sectarian charity school in New York. In 1798 they established an association for the relief of the "sick poor," and in 1801 a school for poor children. The subscribers to the relief society were Catherine Murray, Elizabeth Bowne, Sarah Robinson, Amy Bowne, Amy Clark, Elizabeth U. Underhill, Martha Stansbury, Jane Johnston, Susan Collins, Elizabeth Burling, Harriet Robbins, Sarah Tallman, Hannah Eddy, Ann Eddy, Agnes A. Watt, Sarah Collins, Elizabeth Pearsall, Mary R. Bowne, Rebecca Haydock, Lydia Mott, Penelope Hull, Mary Murray (Mrs. Perkins), Hannah Pearsall, Margaret B. Haydock, Sarah Haydock, Mary Pearsall Robinson, Ann Underhill, Caroline Bowne, Hannah Shelton, E. Huyland Walker, Sarah Hallet, Sarah Bowne Minturn, Mary Minturn, Jr., Deborah Minturn Watt, Hannah Bowne, Ann Shipley, Hannah Lawrence, M. Minturn, Esther Robinson Minturn, May Dunbar, Mary Wright, Sarah Lyons Kirby, and Charlotte Leggett.

The Quakers devoted themselves to educational reform, establishing school after school, and are the founders of the public school system of New York to-day. The Public School Society of New York was organized in 1805, the meeting being called by Thomas Eddy and John Murray, Friends, and was held at the house of John Murray in Pearl Street. The following Friends have been identified with this work: Lindley Murray, Samuel F. Mott, Jos. B. Collins, John L. Bowne, W. H. Barrow, Isaac Collins, Barney Corse, Mahlon Day, Jas. S. Gibbons, Whitehead Hicks, Geo. F. Hussey, Benj. Minturn, Geo. Newbold, W. T.

Slocum, James W. Underhill, Robert W. Cornell, Willett Seaman, Walter Underhill, George T. Trimble, Joshua S. Underhill, Wm. S. Burling, Thos. Bussing, Matthew Clarkson, Benj. S. Collins, Isaac H. Clapp, Thomas Franklin, Samuel Hicks, Anthony P. Halsey, Edmund Kirby, John Murray, Jr., Wm. H. Macy, James B. Nelson, Jeremiah Thomson, Samuel Wood, Wm. Seaman, Joshua Underhill, Wm. Willis, Thomas Eddy, Thomas Buckley, Walter Bowne, Wm. Birdsall, Nathan Comstock, Richard Cromwell, W. P. Cooledge, Matthew Franklin, Valentine Hicks, Henry Hinsdale, T. Leggett, Jr., Robert F. Mott, Samuel C. Mott, Benj. D. Perkins, Wm. R. Thurston, Jr., Edmund Willetts, Davis Sands, Ira B. Underhill, and Benj. Clark.

In 1775 the New York Quakers organized a Society, the first, I think, for promoting the manumission of slaves. Samuel Wood, Israel Corse, Thomas Bussing, Edmund Willetts, Henry Hinsdale, Robert Bowne, Samuel Franklin, George T. Trimble, Ira B. Underhill, were identified with it. Thomas Eddy, a Friend, was a founder of the first Savings Bank in New York. The Mission School for Colored Women, 1815, the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, 1816, the parent of the present House of Refuge, had Friends among the founders and promoters. In 1818 the Friends established a school for the benefit of negroes of Flatbush.

The Collins family was thoroughly identified with all the large movements of uplift in early New York. Isaac Collins was crown printer for the colony of New Jersey. He printed in 1791 the first quarto Bible America had ever seen. In 1864 Rebecca Collins moved from Philadelphia and became a beloved minister. The ministers and elders

of the New York meeting included some remarkable men and women, among whom were William F. Mott, Phoebe Mott, Rebecca Collins. Samuel F. Mott was one of the managers of the City Lunatic Asylum and a very strict Friend, yet a wag. Some one had proposed a dancing party for the lunatics to give them recreation, but the suggestion was made that Samuel F. Mott would object, being a Quaker. To their surprise he agreed to it, remarking that he "thought dancing was just the thing for crazy people, being right in their line."

At the head of their meeting for many years sat Thomas Hawkshurst, who had been a Revolutionary soldier. Other ministers were John Wood, Elizabeth Coggshall, Mahlon Day, Mary Kerr, Sarah E. Hawkshurst, Pelatiah P. Page and others. David Sands, Deborah Hinsdale, William Cromwell, Benjamin Tatum, Edward Marshall, Henry and Grace Dickinson, Augustus Taber, William H. Ladd, William Symmons and many more, types of fine men and women. Of these William H. S. Wood says:

"Forty or fifty years ago the spiritual government and control of this meeting by the elders was no uncertain thing, and the most watchful care was taken that the exercise of the ministry was proper and to the edification of the congregation. Oh, what elders there were in those days! Recognized ministers were carefully guarded and helped. Those who felt called to speak in meeting were weighed in the balance, and if approved were encouraged; if not, were rarely permitted to break the silence. There were some of them who considered their own feelings a more sure pointing to duty than the combined discernment of the elders, but such were labored with kindly, but firmly, and only occas-

ionally disturbed the meeting. Strangers, however, who undertook to speak in meetings, usually had a hard time of it, and when a suggestion from the gallery proved ineffectual in bringing such to their seats, at a signal from the elder some Friend would instantly rise and eject the transgressor. Such action was generally approved by the meeting. Possibly the advocates of women's rights in church administration might date the first official step in this direction in New York Yearly Meeting from the admission of women as members of the Representative Meeting. This was in 1876, and at a meeting held in this house. It may be of historical interest to record here that the eight women thus honored were Mary S. Wood, Caroline E. Ladd, Ann M. Haines, Mary U. Ferris, Grace Dickinson, Anna C. Tatum, Anna F. Taber, and Ruth S. Murray, but three of whom are now living." (1904.)

The following description of the New York Meeting in 1864 is taken from the diary of William W. S. Wood's mother: "First in our gallery sits William F. Mott, an elder. He is over 80 years of age, and feels many of the infirmities incident to a long life, from the duties of which he has mostly retired after very many years of great usefulness in the church and in benevolent works. He ever gave heed to the injunction and manifested on every occasion, 'Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might.' Next to William F. Mott we see Edward Marshall, an Englishman by birth. He is a sound, intelligent minister, but not a frequent speaker. Then William Wood, an elder who has been for many years clerk of the Yearly Preparative and Monthly Meetings, with good will doing service as to the Lord. At his side sits one of the same name, but not a

relative. Dr. Stephen Wood has a loud, sonorous voice, and sometimes his sentences flow with fluency and grandeur. In his ministry he often alludes to passing events, and invites to a more diligent perusal of the Holy Scriptures; and on the divinity of Christ brings forth the most beautiful and conclusive texts. He quotes from the early Friends, and desires us to remove not the ancient landmarks.

“Henry Dickinson is the next one in our gallery. He is impressive, and awakening in his sermons, and has a clear head to elucidate a text. His motto is ‘Christ is All.’ He is an Englishman.

“On the lowest gallery seat, in front of the ministers, we see Dr. Thomas Cock, the oldest member of the meeting. He is a highly esteemed physician and gentleman, a sincere Christian, and very solicitous for the welfare of the Society. Next to him is Daniel Cromwell, an esteemed, aged Friend, who is in his place in suitable weather. Then we see the portly figure of his brother, William Cromwell, an elder. His open heart and open house made him loved and respected by many strangers visiting this city. He cautions Friends not to stumble from the ancient paths. Then Isaac H. Allen, a follower of the living way which Christ has consecrated for us. By him is Benjamin Tatham, impulsive, devoted and prosperous, not forgetting to give tithes to the Lord. Then the expanded form of Edward Tatum, who a few years since removed here from Philadelphia. He has a warm heart and is valued and beloved.

“Robert Lindley Murray and Joseph Hilyard face the gallery, and a number of old men, who never did any harm, sit between them. Robert L. Murray withholds not his hands when the church calls for work. He succeeded Wil-

liam Wood as clerk of the Monthly Meeting, and is superintendent of the First Day School. It may be said of him that he is doing the will of the Lord from his heart.

"On the women's side of our meeting Rebecca Collins sits head of the gallery. She resided until a few years since in Philadelphia, but is now living here. She is a widow, and is much beloved both as a minister and socially. She tenderly sympathizes with the lowly and afflicted, visiting and comforting in many ways. She manifests that she is privileged to sit in heavenly places with Christ Jesus.

"On her left we see Hannah H. Murray and Elizabeth U. Willis, elders, counted worthy of double honor. E. U. Willis was for many years clerk of Monthly and Yearly Meetings.

"Next is our sweet-spirited Grace Dickinson (wife of Henry). She is our youngest minister. In her abide faith, hope and charity. She is much beloved. The next is Lydia Willets, correct in all her ways, without sins of the tongue to answer for. The lowest seat facing the congregation was not long since filled with aged Friends, but one after another they have been called to eternal rest; the only one remaining is Amy Sutton. Catharine M. Wood (wife of Dr. Wood) and Elizabeth B. Collins, both young elders, now sit there, and often strangers.

"On the first seat facing the gallery is Anna Underhill. She is careful to speak evil of no one, and always has some good words for those spoken against by others. On the other end of this bench is Mary S. Wood (wife of William Wood). On the bench behind are Sarah F. Underhill, Anna H. Shotwell and Jane U. Ferris. The first two are among those who established a colored orphan asylum.

"Then we see Ruth S. Murray (wife of Robert L. Murray). She established a Mothers' Mission and Mission Sunday-School, with very little help. She is sweet and cheerful, and her faith never fails."

Ten years afterwards she writes: "Brooklyn Meeting being established, Henry and Grace Dickinson and Isaac H. Allen attended it, as they lived in Brooklyn. William Wood now sits head of the New York Meeting, and Dr. Stephen Wood next to him. On the lowest bench are Edward Tatum, Alden Sampson, Benjamin Tatham and John Ellison. Edward Marshall moved to Philadelphia. William F. Mott, Daniel Cromwell, Dr. Thomas Cock and William Cromwell have been called up higher, to be seen of men no more.

"Robert Lindley Murray has been recorded a minister. He was instant in season to declare what the Spirit saith to the Churches, and he is now gathered before the Throne.

"Hannah S. Murray, though very infirm, and Lydia Willets are still here; but Elizabeth U. Willis, Anna Underhill and Amy Sutton have departed in peace and trust, all about 80 years of age. Anna H. Shotwell has also joined the heavenly host. The places of some are vacant, but others are occupied by younger Friends, though past middle age."

One of the most highly esteemed ministers of the last half century was Abel T. Collins. He came from Maine in 1863, with his wife Mary, who, after his death, married Edward Tatum. Abel Collins was a young man in very moderate circumstances, a hard worker, both in his business and as a student. He was modest and refined in his manners. Beloved especially by the young men, his early death brought sorrow to all hearts.

Thomas Kimber removed to this city in 1877. He married Mary E. Shearman, of New Bedford. He was college-bred and a gentleman. Active as a minister, he traveled extensively, preaching sound evangelical Christianity in a scholarly and attractive manner. He sat at the head of this meeting for several years, and his death was a loss to it which has never been repaired.

Sixty years ago the following Friends were pillars of this church, viz.:

	Children	Friends.	Not Friends.
John Wood.....	5	—	
Benjamin Collins.....	7		1
John L. Bowne.....	4		1
Robert Bowne.....	3		1
John W. Willis.....	1		2
William Wood.....	2		—
William Birdsall.....	—		6
Robert F. Mott.....	1		—
William F. Cromwell.....	2		1
Dr. Thomas Cock.....	4		2
Daniel Cromwell.....	3		2
	32		16

In 1870 Dr. Joseph Bassett Holder, of Lynn, father of the author, joined this meeting. He was a descendant of Daniel Holder of Nantucket, and with Edward Cope, of Philadelphia, perhaps the only notable examples of scientific men among the Quakers in America. Dr. Holder was never disowned, though he served as a surgeon throughout the Civil War, his knowledge of sanitary science saving hundreds of lives in Florida. He was the curator of Zoölogy of the American Museum of Natural History,



DR. JOSEPH BASSETT HOLDER
Author, Scientist, Surgeon U. S. Army 1860-69



JOSEPH SWAIN, LL.D.
President of Swarthmore College

having joined Professor Bickmore in 1870, and aided in the development of the institution, serving it until his death in 1888. Dr. Holder was the author of several books. He was a sincere believer in the orthodox doctrine. For many years he was an intimate friend of John G. Whittier, Dr. Nichols and Charles Coffin of Lynn.

While the Society is holding its own and increasing in the West, it has unquestionably fallen away in New York. The reason for this is found in the severity of the conditions in the past century, marriage out of the Society and the wholesale disownments. The New York meeting was dealt a heavy blow in 1877 by what is known as the "Nine Queries" adopted by the Yearly Meeting. Some of the most important members left the Meeting. It was not long after this that the Friends awoke to the fact that wholesale disownment was elimination. To illustrate the change, in 1870, when an aunt of the author married Colonel Eaton of the U. S. Army, she was not disowned, although she joined the Episcopal Church. A committee of the New England Meeting waited on her, and said that, owing to the love and affection for her, and for her father and mother, John C. and Hannah G. Gove, they would not disown her, and she would be always welcome at the meetings. If this kindly method had been in vogue in Nantucket, New York and New England fifty years sooner, the Society would not have been depleted. As it was, many good men and women refused to be bound by "non-essentials," always the *bête noir* of Quakerism. The New York Meeting to-day is based on a liberal plan, and is composed of men and women of the highest character, imbued with a liberal Christian spirit.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE QUAKERS IN PENNSYLVANIA.

WILLIAM PENN IN AMERICA.

I conceive the most notable feature of the establishment of the Quakers in Pennsylvania was, that having full power to make the religion of the colony Quakerism, William Penn rose to the highest idealism, and made the corner stone of the vast "experiment" (paid for with his own money), devoted to the sect he believed in—liberty of conscience with absolute freedom "for Papists, Protestants, Jews and Turks." Every charge ever brought against the Quakers from the dawn of the idea to the time of Penn was answered in this declaration. The contrast between this and the action of the Puritans, who established their dictum as absolute in New England, is not only remarkable, but it gives an illumining view of the breadth and disinterestedness which underlay Quakerism in the seventeenth century; and which makes it still a profound influence and leaven in the world's history to-day.

The idea of a colony in America where the people could have absolute liberty of conscience was conceived by William Penn when a student at Oxford in 1661, when he met Josiah Cole, a kinsman of Christopher Holder, who was instructed by George Fox to go to America on a mission of investigation with a view to a Quaker colony. Penn writes, "This I can say that I had an opening of joy as to these parts (the American colonies) in the year 1661 at Oxford, twenty years since."

The experiences of Friends in New England and New York were so discouraging that years passed before any headway was made in the direction of colonization, the first encouragement coming from New Jersey in 1673. In this year, William Penn, through his influence with the King and the Duke of York, was made arbitrator in the Fenwick-Byllinge matter in New Jersey. Lord Berkeley had sold his share in the province to the former, in trust, for Byllinge; and as an outcome Penn and three others received nine-tenths of the property, acting as trustees for the Quaker Byllinge. In 1680, the Duke of York, always an intimate of Penn, deeded to him and his colleagues West Jersey, East Jersey going to the Carterets. In 1697 Lord Carteret died, and William Penn and twenty-four others became the owners of East Jersey, with the hope of making it a Quaker colony. Robert Barclay, the author of "The Apology" was made governor, but he never came to America and ruled only by deputies. This plan never succeeded, for various reasons, and Penn soon devoted all his energies to obtaining the rich region to the south, known as Pennsylvania.

This experience in New Jersey gave William Penn an insight into the possibilities of America for colonization by men and women who desired freedom of conscience. He consulted with many Friends about it—George Fox, John Burnyeat, Algernon Sydney, the Duke of York and the King, Lord Peterborough and Sir Isaac Newton, Lord North and Lord Sunderland, and many more. In 1680 he made his proposition to the King that, in lieu of the eighty thousand dollars due him, he should be deeded the land in America lying north of Maryland, "bounded on the east by the Delaware River, and on the west limited as Maryland

and northward, to extend as far as plantable." The details of this demand comprise a history in itself, and the consummation was one of the mile-stones in American Quakerism of profound importance.

The region secured included over forty thousand square miles of territory, and concealed unsuspected millions in coal and oil. The vast area was sold at a price less than the value of a single business lot in Philadelphia in 1913, and the insignificance of the sum is explained by the fact that the sum paid, eighty thousand dollars, was supposed to be an extraordinary price for wilderness land. It was the first instance in the history of American colonization of land being sold by the Crown.

On the 4th of March, 1681, William Penn received his charter, and became the Lord of a principality about as large as England. Penn, it is believed, informed the King that he desired to name it New Wales, but the King objected. Then Penn suggested Sylvania or Woodland. This name was marked on the charter, but the King added the word Penn to Sylvania, to which Penn seriously objected, on the ground that it would appear that he had selected it for self-aggrandizement. To quote Penn, "I feared lest it would be looked upon as a vanity in me and not as a respect in the King, as it truly was to my father whom he often mentions in praise." The King appreciated the Quaker modesty, but he was determined that his friend's son should receive the honor, so he said diplomatically, "We will keep it, my dear fellow, but not on your account, do not flatter yourself, we will keep the name to commemorate the Admiral, your noble father." So the new American Quaker domain, known as the "Holy Experiment," became Pennsylvania.

William Penn was now in effect the Lord of the Manor. He could sell or rent the land, the King demanding but two bearskins annually, and one-fifth of all the gold and silver found in the domain. A fifth of all the coal and oil found in Pennsylvania later would have been a king's ransom. The Penn charter, which he drew himself, and in which he was designated as Proprietary, was written on parchment, "each line underscored with red ink, and the borders gorgeously decorated." The original is now in the Division of Public Records in the State Library at Harrisburg. The charter was designed after that granted to Lord Baltimore for Maryland, but was not so liberal. When the Assembly of Maryland passed a law, it became valid when Lord Baltimore signed it; but the Pennsylvania laws had to be confirmed by the King, who thus kept his hand upon the Quaker helm. In Maryland the King could not levy a tax; but in Pennsylvania the Crown reserved this right. Unquestionably the King was advised not to give too free a hand to a colony three thousand miles distant, in anticipation of possible rebellion on the part of colonists.

Penn was obliged to give his people free government. They were to have the right to elect their own legislative body; but Penn had the right to veto: he could also appoint various civic officers as magistrates, and he had the power of pardon except in capital offenses. Penn was also denominated the Governor in perpetuity, and despite the proviso of the government to protect itself from any possible contingency, Penn was given every possible liberty, and permitted to shape the policy of the new colony without interference. This he proceeded to do in a most liberal manner, carrying out the highest principles of the Quakers, and assuring all would-be immigrants of perfect religious freedom.

The advanced views of Quakerism were seen in the statement that governments existed for the people, not people for governments; that imprisonment was not the last word for criminals, they were to be reformed, if possible by Christian treatment. In Massachusetts a man could be hung for idolatry, witch-craft, adultery, bearing false witness, striking a parent, swearing, and not long before, for being a Quaker. Penn struck these from the list, and capital punishment could only be inflicted in case of murder or high treason, a marvelous reform for the age. Penn's intentions were set forth in a letter he sent to the colony by his cousin, William Markham, in April, 1681, who went out as deputy governor. It is as follows:

"My friends: I wish you all happiness, here and hereafter. These are to let you know that it hath pleased God, in his providence, to cast you within my lot and care. It is a business that, though I never undertook before, yet God has given me an understanding of my duty, and an honest mind to do it uprightly. I hope you will not be troubled at your change and the King's choice, for you are now fixed at the mercy of no governor that comes to make his fortune great; you shall be governed by laws of your own making, and live a free, and, if you will, a sober and industrious people. I shall not usurp the right of any, or oppress his person. God has furnished me with a better resolution, and has given me His grace to keep it. In short, whatever sober and free men can desire for the security and improvement of their own happiness, I shall heartily comply with, and in five months I resolve, if it please God, to see you. In the meantime pray submit to the commands of my deputy, so far

as they are consistent with the law, and pay him those dues (that formerly you paid to the order of the Governor of New York) for my use and benefit, and so I beseech God to direct you in the way of righteousness, and therein prosper you and your children after you.

"I am your true friend,

"William Penn."

Penn now began to interest Quakers and others in his colony, and was so eminently successful that in the year following the granting of the charter twenty ships sailed for the Delaware, carrying nearly three thousand immigrants, many of whom were Quakers. He secured a grant from the Duke of York for the land now known as Delaware, so that he could control the coast line on the western side of Delaware River and Bay to the ocean, all of which indicated that he was well advised and looked well to the future. He threw his entire personality into the "Holy Experiment," and his enthusiasm was so infectious that the colony grew in leaps and bounds, and became the talk of London, where the continual departure of Quakers was welcomed by the King, who had cleverly paid his debt and paved a way for the persistent Friends to leave the scenes of their troubles. In a year after receiving the charter, Penn found his affairs in such shape that he could visit the colony, and in the summer of 1682 he sailed from Deal in the ship 'Welcome', probably innocent that Cotton Mather was devising a plan to have his ship intercepted, and himself sold a slave at Barbados, as the following letter indicates; though how this interesting figure in New England history expected to seriously annoy a man of Penn's prominence, a protégé of King Charles' and intimate of the Duke of York, is difficult to imagine.

"Boston, Sept. ye 15th, 1682.

"To ye aged and beloved John Higginson.

"There be at sea a shippe called 'Ye Welcome,' R. Greenway Master, which has on board a hundred or more of ye heretics and malignants called Quakers, with W. Penne, ye chief scampe, at the head of them. Ye General Court has accordingly given secret orders to Master Malachi Huxett of ye brig Porpasse to walaye sed 'Welcome' as near ye coast of Codde as may be and make captive ye said Penne and his ungodly crew so that ye Lord may be glorified and not mocked on ye soil of this new countre with ye heathen worships of these people .

"Much spoyle may be made by selling ye whole lot to Barbadoes, where slaves fetch goode prices in rumme and sugar, and shall not only do ye Lord great service in punishing the wicked, but we shall make great good for his ministers and people. Master Huxett feels hopeful, and I will set down ye news when his shippe comes back. Yours in ye bowels of Christ,

"Cotton Mather."*

The "Welcome" appears to have missed the "Brig Porpasse," as she landed at New Castle, Delaware, on the 27th of October, 1682, after a long trip of over two months, during which thirty of the one hundred passengers died of small-pox at sea.

Up to 1681 the inhabitants of Pennsylvania and Delaware were Indians, and a few Swedes and Dutch, and Quakers; the whites having a small settlement at Tacony opposite

*I have been unable to trace the original of this interesting letter and cannot vouch for its authenticity, though it was given in good faith.

Burlington, and at Chester, then known as Upland. Penn received a hearty welcome from the Dutch and Swedish settlers. At Newcastle he presented his "deeds of enfeoffment", and in turn the inhabitants handed to him soil, water and branch, indicating their recognition of his right as Proprietor and Governor.

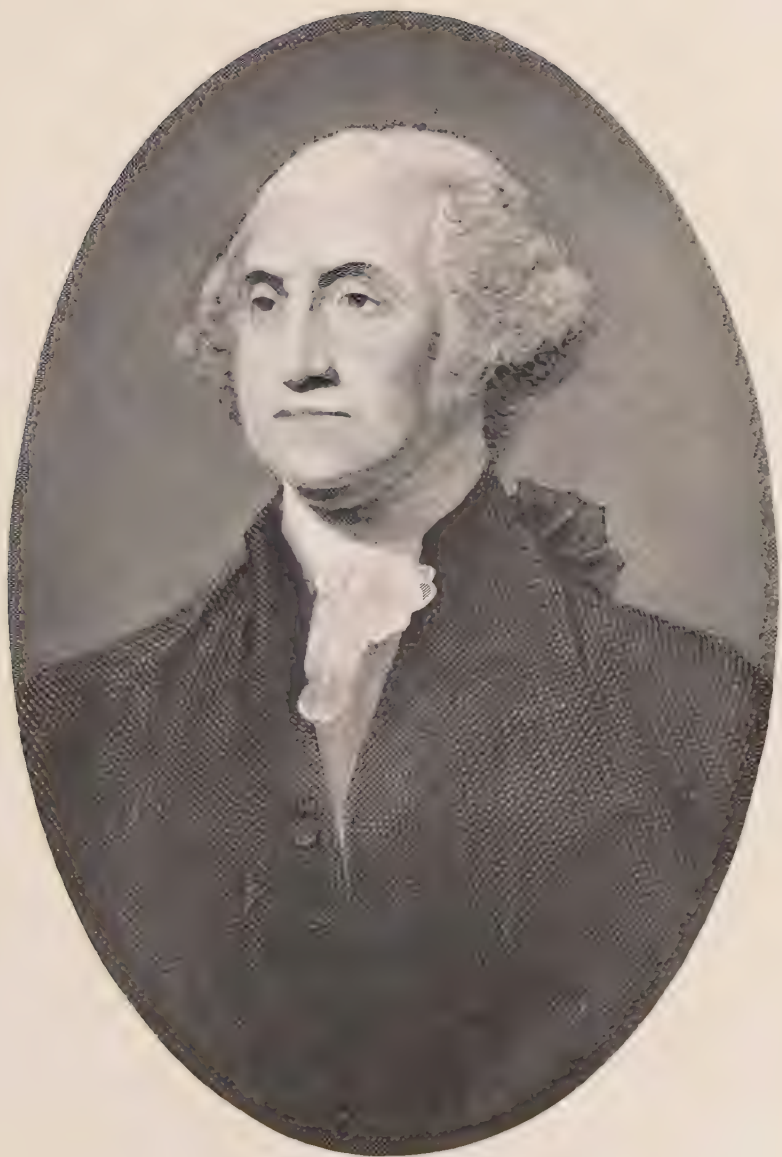
From here he journeyed up the river to the present location of Chester, where he was welcomed and entertained by Robert Wade, said to be the first Quaker to enter Pennsylvania. One of Penn's intimates was Thomas Pearson, grandfather of Benjamin West, and when standing with him, gazing at the beautiful country he could call his own, he said: "Providence has brought us here safe. Thou hast been the companion of my perils, what wilt thou that I shalt call this place?" "Call it Chester," responded his friend, who was from the old walled city of that name. Here in the Quaker meeting house a four-day assembly was held, during which Penn explained more fully what he proposed to do, and told his auditors that they were to have a government in advance of anything enjoyed by any people in the world; that they were free men and could worship God as they wished, without even criticism. All he demanded was that they should obey the law and live uprightly. Here the great laws of Pennsylvania, including sixty-one statutes, were passed, and the real Pennsylvania began its lease of life, doubtless having for its motto the following, which is included in the "frame of government": "We declare that we hold it our glory that the law of Jehovah shall be the supreme law of Pennsylvania."

William Penn was charmed with his great possession, and in letters to Friends in England, he wrote enthusiastically about it.

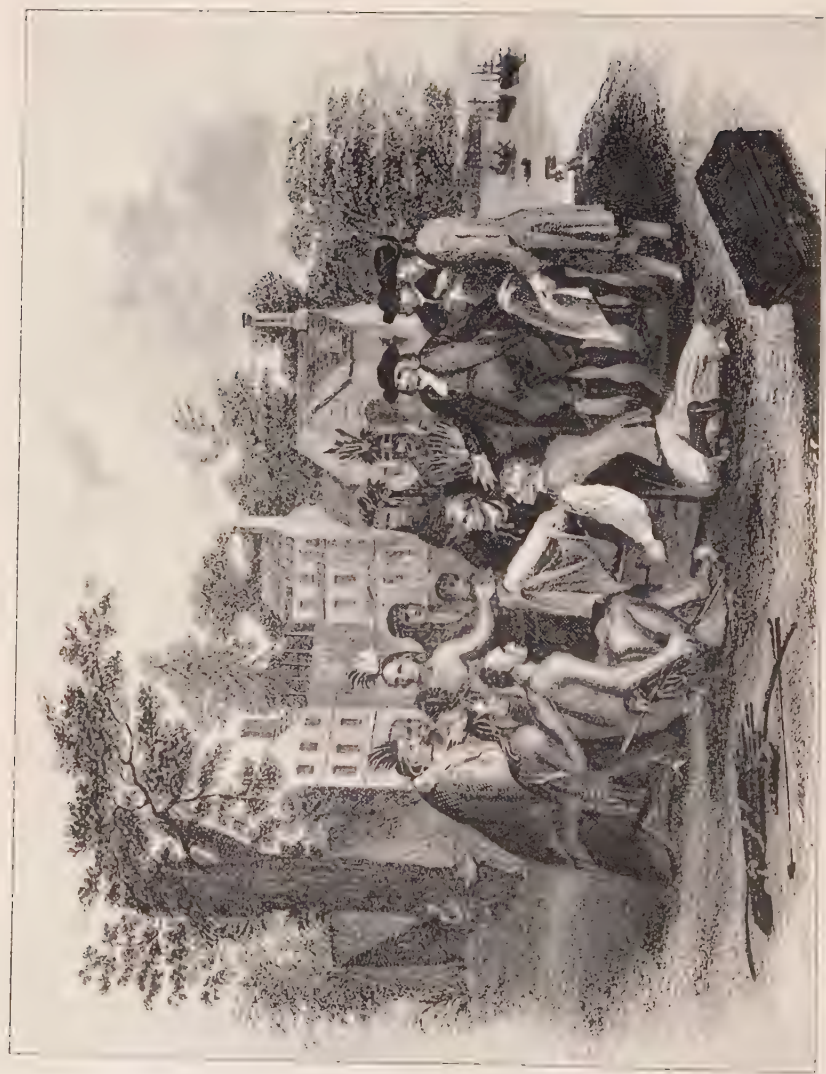
He now went to New York to pay a visit of courtesy to the authorities; then he proceeded on the same mission to Maryland, where he met Lord Baltimore. Returning, he proceeded to select a location for a central city upon which his commissioners had been at work. His decision was the neck of land between the Delaware and the Schuylkill, a location "not surpassed by one among all the many places he had seen in the world." He selected the name "Philadelphia" from the two Greek words meaning "Brotherly Love", hoping that the name would be prophetic of the life of the residents.

Penn was now fairly started with his great experiment; not only the Governor but the practical owner of a region, with its later additions, twice as large as the mother country. He proposed to populate it, build it up into a great haven for the people of the old world, one of the most stupendous undertakings ever attempted by one man, a responsibility so profound that it might well have stayed the hand of criticism; it being a self-evident fact that he would have to leave much of the actual labor to managers and deputies. The most liberal terms were given to settlers, there were no special privileges, no monopolies, no great land schemes.

Penn sold the land at the rate of one thousand acres for \$100., or five thousand acres for \$500., and annually one shilling for every hundred acres as rent. If the would-be settler did not have the requisite amount, he was given two hundred acres or less, at a rent of twenty-five cents per acre per annum, until he could pay for it. Fairer terms could not be asked, immigrants poured in; and a few months after his arrival, twenty-three ships arrived, and within six months of the founding of Philadelphia, the city possessed eighty good houses and cottages, a thriving business, while the farmers



GEORGE WASHINGTON



PENNA'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS

had laid out over three hundred farms. Three years later, Philadelphia boasted six hundred houses, and the state had at least fifty towns laid out and occupied. Ninety ships arrived at Philadelphia in the first two years of its life, bringing seven thousand passengers, mostly Friends, and the colony in a short time had nine or ten thousand inhabitants. Compare the growth of this province, which guaranteed free conscience, to that of New York, where Quakers were ill-used, and it will be seen that Philadelphia gained more in three years than did New York in fifty. It even surpassed New England, into which the Puritans were pouring in a never ending stream.

Among the first buildings erected was a meeting house, and the first Yearly Meeting was held at Burlington on the 28th of sixth month, 1681; this originated in the Burlington, N. J., Monthly Meeting.

In 1682 an organization was effected in Philadelphia at which it was agreed to hold Monthly Meetings, and consider every third one a quarterly. General meetings were also held alternating in Burlington and Philadelphia up to 1760, after which all the Yearly Meetings were held in Philadelphia.

One of the questions which occupied the attention of William Penn was that of Indians. The Quaker policy was that the natives had the same rights as the whites, and they proposed to treat them honorably. The famous treaty with the Indians, which has been the subject of artists and poets, was probably consummated in June, 1683, and was doubtless a meeting with chiefs to arrange a purchase of land from them. As oaths were not used by the Quakers, or required, they merely promised the Indians certain things,

all of which were religiously carried out. The King had insisted that a clause providing for an armed force to protect the Quakers from the Indians should be inserted in the charter whether Penn wished it or not. "What", said the King, when Penn protested, "venture yourself among the savages of North America!" "I want none of your majesty's soldiers," replied Penn. "But how will you get your lands without soldiers?" asked the King. "I mean to buy their lands of them," said Penn. "Why, man," rejoined the amazed monarch, "you have bought them of me already!" The answer of Penn tells the story of Quakerism better than a volume.

"W. Penn.—Yes; I know I have, and at a dear rate too: I did this to gain thy good will, not that I thought thou hadst any right to their lands—I will buy the rights of the proper owners, even of the Indians themselves: by doing this, I shall imitate God in His justice and mercy, and hope, thereby, to insure His blessing on my colony, if I should ever live to plant one in North America."

Deputy Governor Markham had already dealt with the Indians, and explained the policy of the Quakers, and they were so impressed that they said they would "live in peace with the Onas (Plume) and his children as long as the sun and moon shall endure." The Indians handed down the meaning of the great Shackamaxon treaty to their children, and their children's children. Penn doubtless refers to this treaty of romantic history in a letter to the Free Society of Traders written August 16, 1683. The reference is as follows:

"When the purchase was agreed, great promises passed between us, of kindness and good neighborhood, and that

the English and Indians must live in love as long as the sun gave light: which done, another made a speech to the Indians, in the name of all the Sachamakan, or kings, first to tell them what was done; next, to charge and command them to love the Christians, and particularly live in peace with me and the people under my government. That many governors had been in the river, but that no governor had come himself to live and stay there before; and that now having such a one that had treated them well, they should never do him or his any wrong. At every sentence of which they shouted, and said, Amen, in their way."

The famous treaty with the Delawares or Lenni-Lenapé was held in all probability beneath a big elm at Shackamaxon, which lived until 1810, when it was blown down. Two treaties were referred to, and doubtless many were held; but the famous picture of Benjamin West, which is more or less fanciful, has created an interest in the occasion that will never die. In this picture are a number of portraits, one of James Logan, the famous secretary of William Penn, I am told by a descendant. The really remarkable feature of the treaty, so far as history is concerned, was that every promise made to the Indians by Penn was kept inviolate. This amazed even the adamant and unimpressionable Voltaire, who refers to it as "the only treaty with a nation that was never confirmed by an oath, and never broken."

As to the payment to the Indians for their lands, an idea can be obtained from the purchase in 1685 of a large tract extending from the Delaware to the Susquehanna. Penn was in Europe, but the negotiations were conducted with four chiefs—Shakkopoh, Sekane, Tangoros and Malibore—

who demanded of the Quakers and were paid, forty-four pounds of red lead, thirty pairs of hawks bells, thirty fathoms of duffels, sixty fathoms of strandwaters (known as cloth, thirty each of guns, kettles, shirts, combs, axes, knives, bars of lead, pounds of powder, pairs of scissors, pairs of stockings, glasses, awls, tobacco boxes, three papers of beads, six draw knives, six caps, twelve hoes, two hundred fathoms of wampum (money).

No feature of the Quaker settlement of Pennsylvania has so taken the popular fancy as that of Penn and his treaty with the Indians; but it is perhaps going too far to say that the entire credit of the Quaker pseudo influence with the Indians explained their immunity from attack for seventy years, or until the colony was settled far to the west, and the settlers began to infringe on the lands of the Algonquins. The natives were unquestionably impressed by Penn, who was a gentleman of majestic appearance, always well-groomed, he never broke his word with them, nor is there a case on record of an act of unfairness which can be proven against a Quaker in his relations with the Indians. They treated them as equals, were uniformly kind and liberal, all of which bound the two people together in the strong bonds of fraternal friendship.

There was, however, another factor which tended to protect the Quakers, known to those who have studied the Indian situation of the seventeenth century in America. When Christopher Holder, Josiah Cole and William Pearson were traveling in America, long before the arrival of Penn, there was a desperate war waging between the Iroquois tribe of Susquehannocks and the Long House. The former lost and wandered to the south. Penn made his

treaty with the Delawares or Algonquins, who had been so humiliated by the Long House that they were practically vassals, and paid tribute to the powerful Five Nations,—the Long House was a firm friend of Corlear in New York, hence if the crushed and vassal Delawares, the last of the once terrible Lenni-Lenapé, had taken advantage of the defenseless and unarmed Quakers, Penn would only have had to notify the Dutch or English in New York, and the warriors of the Five Nations, the Cayugas and Senecas would have descended upon them. Politics was not unknown in aboriginal America, and it doubtless played a part in the history of the Pennsylvania Quakers: there was a balance of power in America in the seventeenth century.

William Penn learned in 1684 that affairs were not going well with the Quakers in England, and in the summer of that year he sailed for the mother country, hoping to appeal to Charles the Second and the Duke of York, and put a check upon the magistrates who were now ill-treating Quakers. He bade his people farewell, promising to return soon; but fifteen years elapsed before he again saw American shores.

The peaceful and initial years in Pennsylvania saw stirring times in adjoining colonies. New England particularly was under a cloud. The Puritans resented the interference of the King in the affairs of the Quakers, and were on the border of open revolt. Their commissions to England were not received with any degree of cordiality, as the Quakers through Penn were in favor. The King agreed to respect the New England charter, but insisted upon the oath of allegiance, and the repeal of the Puritan laws aimed at the Episcopalians and Quakers. Governor Andros in New

York had displeased the Duke of York in the matter of custom duties, and the latter was so thoroughly disgusted that he would have sold the colony to the highest bidder, had not his friend William Penn interfered.

"What!" said Penn, "sell New York? Don't think of such a thing, just give it self-government and there will be no more trouble." The Duke, who had the highest respect for his Quaker friend's opinion, took his advice. Andros was made a gentleman of the King's Chamber, and given a long lease of the island of Alderney, Colonel Thomas Dongan was sent to New York as Governor, and the first Assembly was held in 1683 when Philadelphia was rapidly becoming a city.

It is not to be conceived that Penn's "Holy Experiment" could have escaped criticism. Envious rivals, personal and political enemies of long standing attacked him with virulence; and Macaulay, who appears to have admitted much contumelious fiction into his history of England, apparently stands sponsor for them. But the attacks did not seriously interfere with the project. On the death of Charles II., the Duke of York ascended the throne, and at once the Quakers, who formerly had hardly a friend at court, were represented by a leader who stood nearer to his Catholic Majesty than any one: so near that his enemies did not fail to point out that Penn was really a Jesuit in disguise. The coronation of King James II. and his unquestioned affection for Penn, caused a change in the latter's plans. The immediate return to the colony was given up, and Thomas Lloyd, the friend of John Ap John, became the confidant and representative of Penn in America.

Through the influence of Penn, hundreds of Quakers were

(1685) released; among them Edward Gove of Hampton, who had been confined in the Tower of London for three years on a charge of treason. The enemies of Penn, unable to carry out their nefarious designs, or obtain great monopolies in his colony, attacked him at home. Macaulay charges him with being a go-between of certain maids of honor, to blackmail the parents of certain children. The evidence in the case is a letter of Lord Sunderland; addressed to "a Mr. Penn," who is known to have been a notorious pardon broker of the day, named George Penn, not even a kinsman of the Quaker. Macaulay was charged with this outrage in the preface of Clarkson's "Life of Penn," 1850. He replied to it, and was replied to in turn by John Paget of London, who, in the words of John Fiske, "left Macaulay in a sorry plight." In this way can be disposed of all the many charges against the honor and character of the great Quaker. Fiske further says, "None of the charges brought against William Penn have been adequately supported; and so far was his character from deteriorating through his intimacy with James II. that at no time in his life does he seem more honest, brave and lovable than during the years so full of trouble to him that intervened between the accession of James and the accession of Anne."

The friendship between the Roman Catholic King James and William Penn the Quaker was a strange one; but it began in youth and so continued. One day, the King asked William Penn how the Quaker religion differed from that of the Roman Catholic. Pointing to their several hats, the King's with its plumes and gorgeous decorations, his own without ornament, he said, "The only difference, your Majesty, lies in the ornaments that have been added to

them." The King laughed at many of the picadilloes of the Quakers, and did not object to being "thou'd" and "thee'd" by Penn, though it unquestionably threw many of the courtiers into a rage. This use of "plain" language occasioned the Quakers as much trouble as anything, as those so addressed honestly supposed themselves insulted. At this period 'thee' and 'thou' were terms used in addressing inferiors, the common people and servants; hence when Penn used it to a gentleman or an official, it was taken as a gross insult, without cause or reason, and was resented as would be a gross epithet. Fisher says, "Penn describes the indignation with which people would turn on a Quaker and exclaim,—*"Thou me, thou my dog! If thou thou'st me, I'll thou thy teeth down thy throat."* To which the Quaker would reply by asking, *"Why then, dost thou always address God in thy prayers by thee and thou?"*

While the friendship between the King and Penn was the cause of the advancement of the Quakers in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, it involved them in many charges of pseudo Jesuitism, and created for them a new band of enemies. Among other denominations he was styled "William, the Papist". Penn became so interested in securing justice for Quakers that he became a prominent and conspicuous figure as a friend of the King. He was forced into the public eye, and became a courtier without knowing it, yet was well calculated by his many graces to fill the position of a king's friend. He now rented Holland House from the Earl of Warwick, and became one of the most influential men at court. The extraordinary expense attendant upon this life, and the fact that Pennsylvania was still a financial drag upon him, embarrassed Penn not a little. He was practi-

cally paying the expenses of the government in the Colony, and that his officials drew on him is shown in the following extract:

"I have had two letters more," he writes to his steward, "with three bills of exchange. I am sorry the public is so unmindful of me as not to prevent bills upon me, that am come on their errand, and had rather have lost a thousand pounds than have stirred from Pennsylvania.

. . . . James, send no more bills, for I have enough to do to keep all even here, and think of returning with my family; that can't be without vast charge."

William Penn's heart was in Pennsylvania, and he was continually endeavoring to return. In 1686 he went to Holland partly on a diplomatic mission and to induce the members and other Quaker-like persons to go to Pennsylvania whose future depended on active growth. Mary, the daughter of King James, had married the Prince of Orange, and if James died childless Mary would be the heir to the English crown. Hence we may assume that William Penn was looking ahead to the possibilities, and it is known that he endeavored to obtain a promise from William to not only guarantee freedom of religious worship in England, but to guarantee the abolishment of the test laws which kept Roman Catholics and Dissenters out of Parliament and office. The latter William refused to do, to the chagrin of Penn and King James; William taking the offensive ground that the "test laws" were all that prevented King James from handing the British government over to Rome.

Penn was violently attacked for this and denounced as a Papist. Bishop Burnet thus refers to the incident:

"But for the tests he would enter into no treaty about them. He said it was plain betraying the security of the Protestant religion to give them up. Nothing was left unsaid that might move him to agree to this in the way of interest. The king would enter into an entire

confidence with him, and would put his best friends in the chief trusts. Pen undertook for this so positively, that he seemed to believe it himself, or he was a great proficient in the art of dissimulation. Many suspected that he was a concealed Papist. It is certain he was much with Father Peter, and was particularly trusted by the Earl of Sunderland. So, tho' he did not present any commission for what he promised, yet we looked on him as a man employed. To all this the Prince answered, that no man was more for toleration in principle than he was: He thought the conscience was only subject to God. And as far as a general toleration, even of Papists, would content the king, he would concur in it heartily: But he looked on the Tests as such a real security, and indeed the only one, when the king was of another religion, that he would join in no counsels with those that intended to repeal those laws that enacted them. Pen said the king would have all or nothing: But that if this was once done the king would secure the toleration by a solemn and unalterable law. To this the late repeal of the edict of Nantes, that was declared perpetual and irrevocable, furnished an answer that admitted of no reply." ("Burnet's History of his Own Times," vol. i. 693, 694.)

Penn's attitude has been attacked and maligned; but it was essentially the Quaker view—that all men should have equal rights under the law, no matter what the religion. It is also claimed that Penn was being "used" by the king, that he was lacking in shrewdness, and that he was a Papist; but from the Quaker standpoint he was only right.

In the following years William Penn preached over all England, becoming more impoverished by the demands on him from the colony. He was active in politics and issued a pamphlet entitled, "Good Advice to Roman Catholic and Protestant Dissenters," in support of the king's policy after the Declaration of Independence in 1687. This made him many enemies. The king became so ardent in his desire to establish the Catholics in England that the people revolted in 1689 and brought over William, the Protestant Prince of Orange, James fleeing to France, where he lived as a pensioner on Louis XIV. until his death.

This was a crisis in the affairs of Quakers and Penn. The latter, however, was a true man and he never deserted his friend James II., and never could be induced to criticise him; and that he firmly believed that more real toleration was to be had under James than William cannot be doubted. Penn neither hurried to William to bend the knee, nor fled; he remained where he was, and his enemies procured his arrest on the 10th of December, 1688. He was taken before the Privy Council, and the following is said to be his statement:

"He had done nothing but what he could answer before God and all the princes in the world; that he loved his country and the Protestant religion above his life, and had never acted against either; that all he had ever aimed at in his public endeavors was no other than what the prince himself had declared for (religious liberty); that King James had always been his friend, and his father's friend, and that in gratitude he himself was the King's, and did ever, as much as in him lay, influence him to his true interest."

It so happened that William did not like servile acknowledgments and appreciated the attitude of Penn, though the great Quaker was the butt of fierce attacks and denounced as a base enemy of Protestantism. But the facts remain that when he went for trial no witness had the temerity to appear against him and he was discharged innocent.

For years Penn had been endeavoring to obtain from James the passage of the Toleration Act, but now it came from William. Penn was continually accused of plotting for the return of James, and the climax came when he heard that he was to be arrested after preaching the funeral sermon of George Fox. Weary and worn out by constant attack, he now wisely dropped out of sight. But even this did not allay suspicion, and he was constantly connected with rumors of the return of James. That these had their

effect on the mind of the Protestant king is shown by the fact that in October, 1692, Penn's province of Pennsylvania was taken from him—a heavy blow to all his hopes and ambitions. The excuse was, that the unarmed Pennsylvanians should not be exposed to France, Holland, Spain or any other possible Christian enemies. Louis XIV was supposed to have cast longing eyes upon New York and Pennsylvania; hence King William, in response to the demands of the anti-Quaker element in Pennsylvania, including David Lloyd, Penn's friend, determined to arm the colony so that it could protect itself in case of war. The easiest way to accomplish this was to remove William Penn, the governor, and in March, 1693, he was deposed from office, and his great dominion was taken from him—a crushing blow not only to himself, but to the thousands of Quakers in the colony.

These were dark days for the colony. Penn, denounced as William the Papist, practically ruined by having paid many of the expenses of the colony out of his own pocket, and unable to collect his just dues, was crushed and disheartened, to which the apostacy of Keith (referred to elsewhere) and the refraction of numerous managers and deputies, added no inconsiderably.

Penn, still in concealment, at once opened up negotiations to obtain his rights, and to remove the unjust but plausible suspicions. That the king wished to get rid of Penn is evident, as he doubtless asked Lord Rochester to enquire of Penn whether he would leave the country and go to Pennsylvania if it was restored to him. To this the manly Quaker replied: "I will not receive my liberty to go as a condition

to go there, and be there as here looked upon as an exarticted exile."

In the latter part of the year 1693 the king became more friendly, and the government evidently concluded that his "treason" was "temperamental" only, and that he was merely a staunch friend of James. In any event, the king, in August, 1694, returned to Penn his province of Pennsylvania, which, it will be remembered, was taken from him on the excuse that "unarmed," it was likely to be taken by the French.

Penn's first wife, Gulielma Maria Springett, whom he married in 1672, died February 23, 1693. After a remarkable period of successful preaching in England he married, in 1696, Hannah Callowhill of Bristol. By Gulielma he had seven children, three of whom survived her—Springett, William and Letetia. The former died young. William was dissipated and a rake, Letetia married William Aubrey. By his second wife he had six children—John, Thomas, Hannah, Margaret, Richard and Dennis. Four—John, Thomas, Margaret and Richard—became proprietors of Pennsylvania, none of the children of the first wife inheriting any of the American property.

For six years following his last marriage Penn wrote and preached in England. In 1699 he again sailed for Pennsylvania, the first time in fifteen years, and now found a people who numbered at least twenty thousand. Pennsylvania had had a stormy time, and its government had been repeatedly changed, much to the dissatisfaction of the people. Penn was well received, and with his secretary, James Logan, at once took a hand in affairs, the latter becoming a shining light in the community. They settled in Philadelphia in

the house of Edward Shippen, then moved to a slate-roofed residence on Second street, north of Walnut. Here his son John was born. In the spring he went to his country seat, Pennsbury, twenty miles up the river. When he attended the meetings of the Provincial Council he traveled down the river in a six-oared barge. Up to this time Penn, through the proprietor, had expended over one hundred thousand dollars in paying the bills and salaries of the Colony, and he could not induce the Assembly to make it up. This, and the fact that his quit rents and sales were slow, tended to embarrass him still more.

In 1701 the rumor became current that the home government purposed to change the proprietary governments into Royal Colonies, and he decided to go to England. Before sailing he gave the people a new constitution, which proved eminently satisfactory. The many biographers of Penn have sketched with elaborate detail every step of his career, and it is but necessary here to give the essentials, the important steps in his life as they influenced the Quakers. The Quaker Assembly voted Penn ten thousand dollars for expenses in the interests of the Colony. But this was soon expended and his troubles rapidly accumulated, and in an extraordinary way. Matters came to such a point that he tried to sell his government to the Crown, but was not successful. He was embroiled in further trouble by a manager or steward, Phillip Ford, who took advantage of him. At his death his widow and son had the temerity to claim that they were proprietors, and that Penn had deeded the province to the steward. The facts were, Penn had been outrageously deceived on various occasions, but very foolishly gave Ford a deed in fee simple of the province as security for money said by Ford to be due

him. As Fisher says, "Penn was juggled out of his province by a bookkeeper." Penn was arrested in this case in London, and for nine months kept in the Fleet prison, the Fords having secured a judgment against him for \$15,000 rent in arrears. He was arrested while at meeting in Grace-church street.

Penn succeeded in mortgaging Pennsylvania and paying the Fords the amount. The friends who aided Penn at this time insisted on his discharging Deputy-Governor Evans, and they had great difficulty in obtaining his consent, as one of his peculiarities was his attachment to his friends, even if they were proven his enemies.

Penn, now free and in possession again, sent out to the Colony Colonel Charles Gookin as a deputy governor in place of Evans. He always hoped to return to America, but the difficulty of settling his many affairs at home always stood in the way, and he passed the last years of his life near Brentford and Ruscombe.

During this time he was endeavoring to sell his government to the Crown, with the provision that the Quakers must be protected and religious liberty assured. The deed was ready to be signed. Five hundred dollars had been paid down, and he was to receive \$90,750 for the great province of Pennsylvania, just ten thousand dollars more than he had originally paid for the virgin soil. But now, in 1712, for the second time he was stricken with paralysis, and by a lucky clause the great property remained in the family and continued so until the war of the Revolution in 1776. Trade revived as peace came, and the property became of vast value and the children of the second wife wealthy men.

Penn lived several years after his illness, declining slowly,

and on July 30, 1718, he died at the age of seventy-four years. He lies at Jordan's meeting-house, not far from London, to-day the Mecca of Friends and Americans who are loyal to his memory, and who honor him without reservation as an upright and faithful gentleman.

The attitude of William Penn when charged by his enemies with plotting against King William tells the story of a manly, courageous patriot. Not for a moment did he deny his warm friendship for the deposed monarch; not for a moment did he seek to protect himself by deserting his old comrade. It was with Penn,—The king is dead, God save the king! Not that I owe allegiance to him now when he is not king, but he was my friend. I am loyal to that friendship alone which descended to me from my father; but you, Sir, are now the king of England, and I am first of all a loyal, patriotic Englishman, and my service is to the King. This was William Penn's acknowledgement, and it did him honor, as a true gentleman; any other attitude would have been impossible from the Quaker standpoint.

Penn's intimacy with James was so close that it might well have fallen under the ban of suspicion, and it led to many interesting occurrences. Before the deposition of James, John Locke, the philosopher and intimate of Penn, found it convenient to go to Holland, during the Monmouth insurrection of '65, as his friend and patron, Lord Shaftsbury, was identified as a partisan of the Pretender. The suggestion that he was disloyal was a cowardly intimation from the enemies of both. Penn, knowing this and Locke's innocence, sent word to his friend, assuring him of the king's friendship, pardon or amnesty, and bade him return to England. Locke replied that "he had no occasion for a pardon, having

committed no crimes," and refused to return. Penn made no reply, biding his time, which came in 1691, when he, in turn, was under suspicion of aiding King James, and living very quietly in retirement.

Locke now was in high favor with King William, and calling to mind the good offices of his friend Penn when he was in exile, hunted him up in his retreat in London, recalled the incident, and in turn assured his old university friend of a pardon, and the good will of William. It can well be imagined that William Penn met John Locke with a naïve pretense at dignity, as he declined the offer, with the remark that "The innocent need no pardon." Nevertheless John Locke used his good offices for Penn, as nothing but a friend at Court could have protected Penn, an outspoken and valued friend of the deposed Papist King, from greater outrage.

In all the troubled history of the Quakers in the Colony, during changes of party, the Quakers were always loyal to the government. They never plotted against it, were never shown to be active partisans; their sole objective was reform, and their warnings and teachings were directed to all the world, irrespective of party or king. This was Penn's doctrine, who said: "Meddle not with government; never speak of it; let others say or do as they please. I have said little to you about distributing justice, or being just in power or government, for I should desire you should never be concerned therein." Morality, peace, liberty, justice were words the Quakers never even lost sight of. Sunday was not alone the Lord's day, but every day from the first to the seventh was lived well and faithfully to man and God.

The attitude of the Friends to the Indians has given them

widespread fame and honor. There is hardly a dealing with the Indians from the early days to the twentieth century that does not carry a reflection in it to the white man; but this cannot be said of the Quaker. He treated the Indians fairly. He paid them, kept his word, treated them with respect, did not sell them liquor, and in no one instance over-reached them. In many colonies it was the policy of certain renegade whites to intoxicate the Indian, to obtain his land or over-reach him. In Pennsylvania, when there was a trial of an Indian by jury, Penn saw to it that it was composed of red men and white men, equally divided. Penn could have made a vast fortune by allowing certain men to deal exclusively with the Indians, but he refused all such offers, to his eternal honor.

The Friends were ever solicitous of the welfare of the Indians, and as the country was gradually settled up, the Quakers, as John Woolman, Zebulon Heston, John Parish and others, followed them up, and then when what might be called the Indian line had been pushed one hundred or more miles west of the Ohio, the Indians sent word to Philadelphia asking that some Friend might come to them to give them religious instruction. In 1791 a great Seneca chief visited Philadelphia and asked the Friends to undertake the education of his son and several other Indian boys. During the Indian war of 1792 the Quakers endeavored to stop it, and at the request of the Indians, Quakers attended the treaty at Sandusky. During the treaty of Canandaigua, in 1794, the Friends were represented by William Savary, who met sixteen hundred Indians, and it was mainly due to the Quakers that peace was declared. The Friends at their request appointed men to live with them, and began to teach

them agriculture and carpentering. They opened schools for the native children; young Indian girls were taken into Quaker families and taught the domestic arts in many lines.

In 1798 the Senecas also requested Quaker teachers to join them, and three Friends were appointed and carried on a plan of practical education at Genesanghota. The Friends expended large sums on the Indians; but their work was always interfered with by avaricious whites who were continually trying to force the Indians west. This was especially true in the case of the Allegheny Reservation, and was the beginning of the raids on the Indians, against which the Quakers always protested and which were a disgrace to the administration of Indian affairs.

In 1819 the Quakers memorialized Congress, saying: "With deep concern we have observed a disposition spreading in the United States to consider the Indians as an incumbrance to the community, and their residence within our borders as an obstruction to the progressive improvements and opulence of the nation."

In 1818 the Friends opened an Indian School at Cattaraugus, and in 1820 one at Tunesassah, under the care of a Friend. Never did the Quakers lose sight of the fact that the Indians were the legitimate owners of the soil. The Catholic Duke of York laughed at his friend William Penn for paying the Indians after he had given up his eighty thousand dollars for Pennsylvania; but this was always the policy of the Quakers, not to avoid trouble, but because it was right and a matter of personal honor. They spent large sums on the education of the Indians because they considered it a moral obligation. This care of the Indians has never ceased. It has been the chief object of the Mohonk

Conferences and of many Quaker societies, especially of the New England Yearly Meeting.

The treatment of the American Indian has been a blot on the American honor; but the efforts of the Quakers have greatly mitigated many of the more than shameful outrages.

In 1712 the Friends made an attempt through the Legislature to stop the selling of slaves in Pennsylvania. William Southeby headed the movement, and soon after the Yearly Meeting took up the matter and made a vigorous campaign against it.

I once saw a slaver captured by an American frigate brought into a Southern port and the helpless negroes turned into a barracoon on the beach like cattle. Little wonder the Friends early resented slavery in America. Labor was scarce in the early colonies, and Naragansett Bay became a fruitful field for the Guinea slaves. In 1717 the Yearly Meeting at Newport took the matter up in the following minute:

"A weighty concern being on this Meeting concerning the importing and keeping slaves, this Meeting, therefore, refers to it in the consideration of Friends everywhere to waite for ye wisdom of God how to discharge themselves in that weighty affair, and it desires it may be brought up from our Monthly and Quarterly Meetings to our next Yearly Meeting, and also yt merchants do write their correspondents in the islands and elsewhere to discourage their sending any more (slaves) in order to be sold by Friends here."

Ten years later the same Meeting issued the following minute:

"It is the sense of this Meeting, that the importation of Negroes from their native country and relations is not a commendable nor allowable practice and that practice is censured by this Meeting."

Frequent reference to slaves are found in the minutes of the Sandwich Meeting, and several Friends were disowned for beating slaves. In 1711 the following minute appears:

"A paper being presented to this Meeting from the Friend who was disowned for unmercifully beating her Negro, wherein she desires to come into unity with Friends, and ye sense of this Meeting is that she should wait until Friends have a sense that she is still to be accepted, and Eleazer Slocum and William Soule are appointed to give her ye mind of the Meeting."

Thomas Hazard of South Kingstown, R. I., made a vigorous stand against slavery, and gradually in 1743-4 it fell into disrepute as the following minutes show :

"4/9/1743.—It being represented by the Quarterly Meeting of Rhode Island that the practice of keeping slaves is a matter of uneasiness to many concerned Friends, and the minutes formerly made by this Meeting being also considered, it is agreed by this Meeting that we request by our Epistles to the Yearly Meeting of Friends in Pennsylvania an account of what they have done in the matter."

"4/7/1744.—By the Epistle we have received from Philadelphia concerning slaves, this Meeting is encouraged to revive and recommend to Friends the careful observation of the minute of this Meeting made in 1717 concerning that matter, and that they also refrain from buying them when imported, and to make return by the Epistles from the several Quarterly Meetings how the same is observed."

In 1760 John Woolman came to New England again and worked vigorously to create a sentiment in favor of the abolishment of slavery. In 1773 the Yearly Meeting issued the following:

"In regard to the Query from Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting, proposing the freeing of all slaves, it is our sense and judgment that Truth not only requires the young of capacity and ability, but likewise the aged and impotent, and all in a state of infancy and nonage, among Friends to be discharged and set free from a state of slavery that we do no more claim property in the human race as we do in the brutes that perish."

Soon after this Stephen Hopkins was disowned for holding a woman slave, and Moses Brown, founder of Brown University and the Friends School at Providence, an intimate friend of Hopkins, set all his slaves at liberty and

joined the Quakers. Singularly enough, the bill the Rhode Island Legislature passed in 1774 forbidding slavery was designed and fathered by the disowned Stephen Hopkins, one of the distinguished men of his time. This law was the result of the following minute adopted by the Yearly Meeting of Rhode Island in 1774:

"This Meeting manifesting a concern that the liberty of the Africans might be fully restored, we appoint our Friends Thomas Hazard, Ezekiel Comstock, Thomas Lapham, Jr., Stephen Hoxie, Joseph Congdon, Isaac Lawton and Moses Farnum, a committee to use their influence at the General Assembly of the Colony of Rhode Island, or with the members thereof, that such laws may be made as will tend to the abolition of slavery, and to get such laws repealed as in any way encourages it."

While George Fox protested against slavery early in his career, in the seventeenth century, slavery existed in America long afterward, and in the middle of the eighteenth century the Quakers of New Jersey owned over eleven hundred negroes. The English law permitted it. The Quakers were the first to free their slaves, and the beginning of the end came in 1758, when John Woolman made his famous appeal. In 1800 there were 12,442 slaves in New Jersey, but thanks to the Quaker, John Woolman, Friends had almost invariably given them liberty.

John Woolman aroused the New York Friends against slavery, and in 1776 the Meeting began to disown Friends who owned slaves, and the practice was soon abolished. William Penn was a slave owner, but when he went to England in 1701 he wrote: "I give my blacks their freedom." Yet long before this the Keithans, in 1693, declared against slavery. In 1711 the Friends of Chester opposed it. In 1712 a Friend, William Southeby, endeavored to influence the Legislature to abolish slavery in Pennsylvania. They

did pass a law placing a duty of one hundred dollars on every slave, but the Queen repealed it.

The Friends continued their anti-slavery crusade until 1774, when nearly all the Friends had liberated their slaves. Then the Quakers began to disown members holding them without reserve, and the end of slavery among the Pennsylvania Quakers came.

In early days John Edmundson had waged war against slavery in Maryland and Virginia, with little success. In 1760 Southern Friends began to awaken to the enormity of the trade. Wenlock Christison, the martyr, was a slave owner and dealer. He bought white emigrant slaves when sold for debt, and owned black slaves, the custom being so common that apparently it had never occurred to him that it was a crime against humanity. Samuel Fothergill of England and John Woolman in 1757 aroused the Southern Friends. Fothergill said, with deep emotion: "The price of blood is upon that province (Maryland). Directly the question was raised some Friends gave their slaves liberty and began the crusade. The end came slowly in the South, but after the Revolution practically all Quakers in the Southern states had released their slaves. Whittier's "Pennsylvania Pilgrim," Pastorious, will be remembered as a Quaker who denounced slavery. In the year 1688 Pastorious drew up a memorial against slaveholding, which was adopted by the Germantown Friends and sent up to the Monthly Meeting, and thence to the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia. It is noteworthy as the first protest made by a religious body against Negro Slavery. The original document was discovered in 1844 by Nathan Kite, and published in "The Friend." It is a bold and direct appeal to the best instincts

of the heart. "Have not," he asks, "these negroes as much right to fight for their freedom as you have to keep them slaves?"

"And oft Pastorious and the meek old man
Argued as Quaker and as Lutheran,
Ending in Christian love as they began."

* * * * *

While the Quakers were fighting there existed a peculiar enslaving just before the Revolution which it was difficult to break up. Many of the immigrants who came out to the Colony were of two classes—indentured servants who had bound themselves for a term of years under contract, and "free willers," or redemptionists, who had stipulated with the captain of the ship that in lieu of their passage money he could sell them to the highest bidder on their arrival, thus recouping himself. From copies of these agreements in the Pennsylvania Historical Society it is seen that the usual price for a three-years' service was £21 and two suits of clothes a grubbing hoe, a weeding hoe and an axe. These people, as a rule, were not acceptable to the Friends, yet a number of Irish Friends were so poor and so anxious to come to this country that they pocketed their pride and came in this way. In the Pennsylvania Messenger for January 18, 1774, is found the following: "Germans—We are now offering fifty Germans, just arrived, to be seen at the Golden Swan, kept by the Widow Kreider. The lot includes schoolmasters, artisans, peasants, boys and girls of various ages, all to serve for payment of passage." D. Von Bulow writes in a Boston paper, 1797: "It is easy to sell the farmers, but there are often men whom it is not so easy to dispose of, e. g., officers and scholars. I have seen a Russian captain offered for eight days for sale and not a bid made. He had absolutely

no market value. He was finally offered at a discount of fifty per cent., and walked about the town by the captain to show his good parts. But this was no avail, and at last, in desperation, the captain sold him for little or nothing as a village schoolmaster." Sculcleff says, that as late as 1804, "I saw many families, particularly in Pennsylvania, of great respectability, both in our society and amongst others who had come over themselves as redemptionists, or were children of such. "This method has been employed in late years to secure cheap imported labor.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE QUAKERS IN NEW JERSEY.

In the years following the arrival of the Christopher Holder party of 1656, and the Penn colonization scheme of 1680, there was a constant migration of Friends from the central points. Long before the settlement of Pennsylvania, Christopher Holder and Josiah Cole and others had traveled through New York, New Jersey and various parts of the country, and their reports were the means of creating a constant westward and southern movement. This was particularly true of New England. The constant ill-treatment, and the hope of a betterment of physical conditions, induced Quakers to migrate. Nantucket, as we have seen was almost decimated, and to-day the names of Macy, Coffin, Starbuck and others are found all through the South and West, the descendants of the famous Quaker pioneers of Nantucket, who by a rigorous system of elimination accomplished their own undoing, so far as Nantucket was concerned. New Jersey was settled by whites as early as 1630, but the first definite band of Quakers in this state settled on the Raritan in 1663. Soon after this, in 1666, Pearsons appeared, and settlements were made in Piscataway, Woodbridge and Newark. A strong family of Lynn Quakers, the Bassetts, sent a delegation to New Jersey early in its history, and towns and settlements took form, some becoming important centers, as Shrewsbury, largely settled from Massachusetts.

The region now so crossed and re-crossed by roads and railroads between New Jersey and Delaware was then a trackless wilderness, over which the pioneer Quakers passed,

unarmed, except with faith—an extraordinary weapon with which to pacify the American savage, the original owner of the soil. The old “Burlington Path” of the Quakers and others became well known, and as early as 1695 two stopping places were to be found, crude inns, which sheltered George Fox, Josiah Cole, Christopher Holder and other Friends of the early and later days.

The Dutch held New Jersey until 1664, when the English took it by force, and the vast region between the Hudson and the Delaware was given over to Sir George Carteret and Lord Berkley. The former was Governor of the Island of Jersey at this time, and in his honor the new possession was called New Jersey. Carteret and Berkley were interesting characters. They were indebted to their friend, the Duke of York, for the large tract. Lord Berkley’s brother was Governor of Virginia, and in 1674 was Ambassador to France. Carteret was a cavalier, courtier, man of fashion, a clever man of the world; a particular friend of Samuel Pepys, who often refers to him, and being more or less of a toady, doubtless appreciated his gallant friend, Sir George, the scion of the old and distinguished Norman family de Carteret of St. Owen.

In 1673 the Dutch re-captured New Jersey, but a new treaty was made by which New Netherlands again came into the hands of the British, and Lord Berkley, now an old man, transferred his interest to John Fenwick and Edward Billinge for five thousand dollars. Thus in 1674, what is now New Jersey, was owned by two Quakers, as Pennsylvania was later owned by William Penn.

In all probability, this was a movement in the interests of the Society of Friends at large, as ultimately, as we have

seen, the property was transferred to the hands of William Penn as an arbitrator between the two Quaker owners, who became involved in a disagreeable contention regarding their respective rights. Many Englishmen had bought property in west New Jersey, and in 1677 two large companies of Friends, one from London and one from Yorkshire, sailed for the promised land, with the blessing of the King, who, it happened, was yachting in the Thames at the hour of sailing. It can also be imagined that his Majesty had no keen regrets at the loss of Quakers.

The two hundred and thirty Quakers landed from the Kent on the Delaware, and formed a settlement to which they finally gave the name of Burlington. They treated with the Indians, bought lands from them in an honorable way, after the Quaker fashion, many non-Quakers later repudiating them, recognizing the rights of the English as sole owners. Many ships now came, landing Quakers at Salem and Burlington, and in 1681 it was estimated that the Quakers numbered fourteen hundred. They, doubtless, remembered the adjuration of Fox: "My friends that are gone or are going over to plant and make outward plantations in America, keep your own plantations in your hearts with the spirit and power of God, that your own vines and lilies be not hurt."

Carteret retained East Jersey, and West Jersey became a Quaker colony on lines unquestionably laid down by William Penn, who was the author of the great charter of New Jersey; though, doubtless, many who had visited the region and knew it well, as Josiah Cole, Burnyeat, Holder, Fox, Edmundson, Gove and others, were consulted. We can well conceive that William Penn's friends, John Locke and

Algernon Sidney were also his advisers. Trials and tribulations without end were the experiences of these aliens; but few were discouraged, their numbers being continually augmented.

The first meeting-house was the canopy of the trees, as the "Woodhouse" party held their meetings in Christopher Holder's Hollow at Sandwich, the first meeting in America. The first house of worship was made out of sail-cloth, and when a log house or home was built it was used until a meeting-house could be erected.

Among the first ministers were Thomas Olin and William Peachy. Seven months from the first settlement of Burlington, the first Monthly Meeting was established, of which the following is a minute:

"Since, by the good providence of God, many Friends with their families have transported themselves into this province of West Jersey, the said Friends in these upper parts have found it needful, according to the practice in the place we came from, to settle Monthly Meetings, for the well ordering of the affairs of the church; it was agreed that accordingly it should be done, the 15th of the Fifth Month, 1678."

Here in the wilderness, surrounded by savages, these gentle folk established themselves. The colonies grew rapidly. The Burlington Quarterly Meeting was established in 1680 and in 1681 a Yearly Meeting was discussed and carried into effect on the sixth month following. There were now meetings at Newton Creek, a Monthly Meeting in Cooper's and Woodbury Creek, and a Monthly Meeting was formed of Salem and Newton. Meetings sprang up at Rancocas, Shackamaxon, Chester, Hoorkills and Newcastle. The first epistle sent from New Jersey to the London Yearly Meeting is dated at Burlington, 1680, and the names signed

to it are well represented in West Jersey today. Among them are Shotwell, Bassett, Wardell, Budd, Peachy, Brightown, Gardiner, Powell, Bourton, Woolston, Pumphrey, Ellis, Jennings, Satterthwaite, Coips, Butler, Butcher, Grubb, Leeds, Stacey, Barton, Hollinshed, Lambert, Kinsey, Pleft, Cooper, Shin, Billes, Hewlings, Fretwell, Eares, Clark, Paine, Arnold. Many of these families later moved to Pennsylvania and established their names in Philadelphia, where they are well known to-day as staunch Friends.

New ministers were continually coming to the Colony, as John Butcher of London, Samuel Jennings, John Skein. In 1679 Sir George Carteret died, and it was found that his will contained a clause directing the sale of East Jersey. The colonization of West Jersey was eminently successful. The region was populated in leaps and bounds. Vast areas of land were sold and the colonists appeared to be so well satisfied that a number of Friends, including William Penn, Robert West, Thomas Rudyard, Samuel Groome, Thomas Hart, Richard Mew, Thomas Wilcox, Ambrose Rigg, John Hayword, Hugh Hartshorne, Clement Plumstead and Thomas Cooper decided to buy it. At this time there was virtually war between the followers of Cameron and the Royalists in Scotland, and hearing that numbers of Scotchmen desired to immigrate, the twelve Quaker proprietors of East Jersey doubtless made a clever bid for Scotch Quakers by extending the proprietary to twelve others, among whom were many distinguished Scotchmen, as the famous Quaker author, Robert Barclay, Robert Gorden, Lord Drummond, the Earl of Perth, Aarent Sonnemans, Gawen Lawrie and Robert West. The year following Robert Barclay was elected governor of East Jersey, no walso a Quaker colony.

The position was for life. His deputy was Thomas Rudyard, and later Gawen Lawrie. This was undoubtedly a bait to induce Robert Barclay of Urie to come to America, and add his undoubted influence and strength to the Quaker movement; but while he accepted the governorship, he never left England, and ruled through his deputy.

Scotch, English and Irish Quakers now came into the Colony, induced by the attractions held out by the Proprietors; and the Quakers became a dominant power in the Jerseys under the skillful Executive Board, the Council of Proprietors. Upon the accession of Queen Anne, in 1702, this powerful and influential council surrendered its rights of government, but retained its proprietary rights. The incoming of the Scots resulted in a remarkable schism, due to a friend of the Barclays, one George Keith of Keith Hall, Aberdeenshire, who became a so-called "Christian Quaker," and is referred to elsewhere.

In 1682 the second Yearly Meeting of New Jersey found a remarkable increase in the numbers of Quakers. Three hundred and sixty came in one ship, and the news which they brought that William Penn had secured a vast domain to the south and west, and was to establish a great Quaker colony, aroused profound enthusiasm. It is interesting to note the decided difference between the Quakers of East and West Jersey. The West, populated directly from England, held more decidedly to English ways and customs, while East Jersey had received many of its settlers from the New England Puritan Colonies, and was more rigorous and stern. This was even illustrated and evident in the laws and various customs.

During the rapid development of the country the Quakers

filled many of the highest offices. Samuel Jennings was speaker in the Assembly until his death in 1709, and previous to this was governor, with a salary of six hundred acres of land beyond the Delaware Falls. Thomas Olive was also a Quaker governor, while George Deacon, Benjamin Wheat, Thomas Gardiner and others filled many offices with credit, and gave to the Colony a reputation for the observance of law and justice which holds to-day in New Jersey.

The various meetings grew rapidly and were often visited by distinguished Friends from England. The Jersey Quakers were as conscientious in their dealings with the Indians as were Penn's followers in the neighboring colony later on. They opened their meeting-houses to Indians and negroes, and in every way endeavored to carry out the great principles of altruism; that they were successful is shown by the last words of King Ockanickon at Burlington in 1681: "This day I deliver my heart into your bosom. I would have you love what is good and keep good company. Be plain and fair with all Indians and Christians." Noble language for a savage king to his heir. One of the most important of the Indian Conferences of New Jersey was held at Burlington in 1758, and later the six nations met at Easton, Pennsylvania, when the Indians gave up all their claims to land in New Jersey, with a small exception, for one thousand pounds. An Indian reservation was established on three thousand acres in what is now Indian Mills, Burlington County, the last of the tribe being removed to Indian Territory in 1832. John Woolman led the work with Indians and accomplished much good. He also became an active force in liberating negro slaves, as Friends owned

slaves in the early days, and in 1800 there were twelve thousand, four hundred and forty-two negro slaves in New Jersey. It is due to Woolman that few were owned by Quakers, the custom rapidly falling into disrepute.

As elsewhere, the Quakers suffered for their views against war. They would not join the army of defense when the Indians rose, nor would they vote for arms and powder, even when it was more than evident that it was needed. This may be said to have been a dominant note in the loss of political influence among Quakers. They were appreciated for their virtues, but they were also considered "unsafe" and impracticable when faced with Indians aroused by peoples and colonists not Quakers, and the result was similar to that in Pennsylvania. The Quakers were gradually divested of their political influence. The Jersey Quakers were particularly interested in education. A large majority came from families of importance, and they soon established schools of various kinds, and stood at the head in refinement and cultivation and education in the Colony. It is interesting to glance at the names of the old pioneers. The names of Morris, Dillwyn, Cox, Kinsey, Smith, Lloyd, Bassett, Bidall, Biddle, Hacker, Boice, Newhall, Kite, and many more, and note how they have been perpetuated and are still pillars of strength in Pennsylvania and New Jersey to-day.

The following is a list of ministers and elders of Burlington Quarterly Meeting, 2 mo. 1767: John Sykes, Joannah Sykes, Josiah Foster, John Butker, Mary Bunting, Samuel Satterthwaite, Thomas Buzby, William Morris, Daniel Smith, Joseph Burr, Jane Burr, Jacob Andrews, Josiah White, Daniel Doughty, Edith Doughty, Joseph

Noble, Edward Cathrel, Rachel Cathrel, Elizabeth Woolman, Elizabeth Borden, Katherine Kalender, Ebenezer Mot, William Lowrie, Benjamin Field, Edward Whitcraft, Anthony Benezet, Joyce Benezet, Sarah Newbold, Hannah Bickerdike, Elizabeth Shinn, John Smith, Peter Worral, Susannah Worral, Benjamin Jones,, Elizabeth Jones, Thomas Middleton, Patience Middleton, Elizabeth Smith, Mary Brown, Jane Smith, Sarah English, Amos Middleton, Samuel Worth, Joseph Horner, Samuel Gaunt, Meribeth Fowler, Anthony Sykes, Peter Harvey, Mary Harvey, Mary Buzby, John Sleeper, Caleb Carr, Katherine Wetheril, Asher Woolman, Esther Hatkinson, Elizabeth Hatkinson, Sarah Woolman, Abner Woolman, John Woolman, William Jones.

CHAPTER XXIV.

QUAKERS IN THE SOUTH AND WEST.

In 1663, attempts were being made to induce settlers to take up land in the Carolinas. Sir John Carleton was interested in the subject and he wrote to the Duke of Albemarle, saying that the proposed settlers would not come without an assurance of liberty of conscience. This brought a prompt assurance from the Proprietors, who replied that they "will grant in as ample a manner as the undertakers shall desire freedom and liberty of conscience in all religious or spiritual things, and to be kept inviolably with them, we having power in our charter so to do." Not only this, the Proprietors were so anxious for settlers, very much after the modern land scheme fashion, that they were willing to allow would-be settlers to select a governor of their own persuasion,— "some persons that are for liberty of conscience may desire a governor of their own persuasion." Later on, in 1665, when George Fox was in Scarborough Castle and the plague was devastating London, the Proprietors made a proposition to Sir John Yeamans which provided that "no person * * * shall be any way molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question or practice in matters of religious concernment." This and many other assurances were made to the Quakers, who entered the southern colony full of hope and religious zeal, and became, as they were elsewhere, model citizens in every respect. Once on the ground, and in possession of land, they were more or less at the mercy of those who induced them to go south, and despite all the

promises they fell under the ban and were treated with great severity and injustice. In Virginia the governor and assistants were all powerful; the only appeal was to the King, and as he appointed the governor, he generally agreed with him.

In Georgia the Quakers were protected by the charter, while in North and South Carolina the Dissenters had their rights in black and white in the charter and fundamental constitutions, though the degree of toleration was vested in the judicial mind of the proprietor. In a word, there were laws which on their face were liberal and just, but if the interpreter of the laws was a violent churchman, with an ecclesiastical program, a protagonist of the establishment of the English Church, the Dissenter would doubtless not find a bed of roses. It is a fact that an ecclesiastical program, having for its goal the establishment of the Church of England in the Southern Colonies, was in the air; but it was not attempted in the Carolinas until 1698, during which period the Quakers had become a force and power in the colonies. Virginia was the second colony in which Quakerism was preached. Elizabeth Harris of London having entered the colony in 1658, the year of the Woodhouse party in New England, and made a number of converts, one being Robert Clarkson of Gloucester County. Thomas Thurston and Josiah Cole of Bristol entered Virginia in 1657 and were promptly banished, after imprisonment and much ill-treatment. This attracted more Quakers instead of acting as a warning, and William Robinson, Robert Hodgson and Christopher Holder soon arrived to spread the word.

The most stringent laws were now enacted in Virginia against the Quakers, and the story is practically that of New

England. Shipmasters who smuggled in Quakers were fined five hundred dollars, and on the third return of a Quaker after banishment he was treated as a felon. It is unnecessary to dwell on the horrors of this period in Virginia; but despite the ill-treatment the Quakers increased in numbers. William Edmundson was the founder of the sect in North Carolina, and attracted a large following to the region by his preaching, as he traveled over the country.

Despite ill-treatment, the Quakers moved on and on, first to Virginia and Maryland, then pushing into the Carolinas, where large meetings were built up, as New Garden, Cane Creek, Deep River in North Carolina, and Bush River and others in South Carolina. In 1771 the South received a strong and virile immigration from Nantucket Island, which explains the names of Macy, Swann, Coffin, Starbuck, Folger, Bernard, Bunker, Wickersham, Dixon and others in the vicinity of Guilford County, North Carolina. From these regions came the great migrations of Friends to the Middle West. George Rofo in 1661 found many settled meetings in Maryland. George Fox visited Maryland in 1672 and held many important meetings. In the same year he went to North Carolina and encouraged the Quakers, carrying out the policy of visitations which is so prominent a feature of these people.

It would be difficult to speak of Quakerism in South Carolina without referring to John Archdale, Quaker Governor, General and Landgreve, who in 1694 drew a salary of one thousand dollars per annum. Some time between 1673 and 1681 he became a Quaker and his appointment as Governor was an appreciation of his talents as a diplomat, and with the hope that it would heal the breach between the Dis-

senters and the church party, and settle the disputes regarding the tenure of land, the payment of quit rents and various other questions. Archdale was given what were practically unlimited powers. One of his acts was to see that the Quakers had liberty of conscience. He was a "free Quaker," apparently, as he administered a military law, yet he secured the passage of an act, of 1695-6, which exempted the Quakers in time of war, and when the Quakers were menaced he wrote, in so many words, to Sir Nathaniel Johnson: "If you persist in oppressing this free people, they will leave the Colony and go to Pennsylvania, where they can have justice. When people are living in a wilderness they expect an enlargement of their privileges, not a lessening." Under Archdale the Colony grew and prospered. From 1725 to 1775 there was a constant inflow of Quakers from Pennsylvania and New York, New England and from the mother country. These movements often had much to do with land settlements. Great tracts were obtained by some enterprising speculator; a grant would be secured, and Quakers induced to settle on it. In this way hundreds of Friends wandered on and on, and have now reached the Pacific coast, where there is one of the most flourishing colonies in America.

The migrations of Friends continued to the South until 1775, when Georgia was settled. Slavery had always been the menace among Quakers, and when they found that they could not stop it, they determined to leave a country where it existed; and it was this reason, to a large extent, which produced in 1800 the remarkable migration of Quakers from the South and Southeast, over the mountains to Ohio and Indiana. The movement was not a surrender. It was a protest against a system that Quakers denounced in the sev-

enteenth century, and which all civilized nations threw off as a relic of barbarism in the nineteenth century,—a tardy recognition of the Quakers who had been virtually fighting slavery for two hundred years.

It would be interesting to follow in detail the remarkable experiences of the Quakers in the early days of the South, their marches across plain and mountains to the West. In the early days slaves were owned by some Quakers in all the colonies. In 1772 the Virginia Yearly Meeting, and a little later the North Carolina, after many protests, aided and abetted by John Woolman and Anthony Benzenet, who had been working on the subject for years, denounced all members who persisted in owning slaves. This was the beginning, and aided by certain other causes, the western migration began. There are many Quakers in the South to-day; but the North Carolina Yearly Meeting embraces that state and Tennessee, and the entire number of Quakers in the South is not over ten thousand. While the western movement depleted the South, it aided materially in strengthening Quakerism at large, as strong and vigorous communities were built up in the West, where to-day the Quakers are strong and a growing sect. As in 1787 slavery was excluded from the country north of Ohio, this region became an attractive point, and the Quakers rapidly poured in from the South. Regarding this movement, Wm. H. Coffin of Pasadena writes:

"Wm. Hunt of Guilford County, North Carolina. was a noted minister of his day. He died in England while there on a religious visit, His son, Nathan Hunt, was one of the ablest ministers of his day. He also traveled much, and died an old man at his home in North Carolina in 1853. He was the father of Asenath Clark and the grandfather of her son, Dr. Dougan Clark, both of whom were able spiritual min-

isters down to recent years. Jeremiah Hubbard, whom some living, among the old people, yet recollect, was a contemporary of Nathan Hunt and was considered one of the most learned and eloquent men of his day. He was an educator, traveled much in the ministry and was many years in advance of his generation in the liberality of his views. Many were converted under his stirring and fearless ministry and many new ministers brought out and recorded. He was one-fourth Cherokee Indian, six feet six inches high, long black hair, and a striking, dignified figure, and the revivalist of his day. His death occurred in Wayne County, Indiana, in 1850. Isaac Hammer and Wm. Williams were also noted ministers, who removed to Tennessee about 1800, where quite a body of Friends had settled. Wm. Williams, after many years, removed again to Wayne County, Indiana, where he died. All the territory north of the Ohio River having been organized and slavery excluded therefrom by the ordinance of 1787, and opened for settlement, Friends, especially from the South, began at once to remove to such a land so rich in resources. Thomas Bales, a minister of New Garden, North Carolina, with a few others, removed and settled in 1782. He is said to have been the first white emigrant amongst Friends to settle in Ohio. He died in 1801 and was buried in a coffin dug out of a log, no lumber then being available. The first large emigration after this came from a Monthly Meeting in Contentuqua Quarter, North Carolina, the members of which removed in a body, taking their certificates and laying down their meeting, by consent of the Quarter, and settling in Ohio in 1800.

"Emigrations followed with increasing volume to the Miami Country and its tributaries, and Miama Monthly and Quarterly Meetings were established in 1803. Many Friends came in from Pennsylvania and Virginia, but the most from the Carolinas and Georgia, until all the meetings in South Carolina and Georgia were laid down and very many in North Carolina and Virginia. Zachary Dix, an able minister of Cane Creek Meeting, North Carolina, who also was supposed to have a prophetic gift, visited Bush River Quarterly Meeting, South Carolina, in 1803. It was a large meeting of several hundred members, with a large new meeting-house. He got up with the words, 'Oh, Bush River, Bush River, how is thy glory become dimmed, and glooming darkness eclipsed thy day,' and predicted a bloody war on account of slavery in the lives of the children then living, and advised Friends to get away from there.

"This produced a panic and in a few years all had sold and gone to the Miami Country, Ohio. Such families as Furnas, Spray, Cox, Mills, Wilson, Jay, Wright, Evans, Coates, Hollingsworth, Cook, Jones,

Thomas, Miles, Cammack, Lewis and others, many of whom and their children afterward removed to other parts of Ohio and Indiana, and we find their names all over the West. David Hoover, his father and brothers, Friends from Randolph County, North Carolina, cut their way through the dense woods from Stillwater, Ohio, to the White Water in Indiana, in 1805, where Richmond now is. I knew him well, as he lived until 1866 and died on the same land he then entered. Thomas Symons, my uncle, went fifteen miles farther, being the first settler on West Fork, at Milton. A great emigration followed these pioneers, mostly from Randolph and Guilford Counties, North Carolina, and large meetings of Friends were established all over the best parts of Indiana and eastern Illinois, all being subject to Indiana Yearly Meeting, which was set up in 1821 at Richmond, Indiana, and was the progenitor of all the Yearly Meetings in the West. Western, Iowa, Wilmington and Kansas, the Pacific Coast Yearly Meeting was set up by Iowa Yearly Meeting.

"The western migration did not take all the Friends from the Carolinas. In 1855 there were over a thousand Quakers living in North Carolina, and by 1895 they had increased to over six thousand. There are now eight Quarterly Meetings in the state; the Eastern, with a membership of three hundred and ninety-five; Western, nine hundred and fifty-four; Southern, eight hundred and fifty-six; Deep River, eight hundred and forty-three; New Garden, six hundred and four; Content-wold, six hundred and eighty-seven; Yadken Valley, eleven hundred; Surrey, seven hundred and twenty-seven. These eight Quarterly Meetings include twenty-seven Monthly Meetings, and in the Yearly Meeting there are sixty-one recorded ministers.

"It might be interesting here to give the names of a few of the pioneer settlers who were the foremost, leading men in Ohio and Indiana among Friends in Indiana Yearly Meeting from 1820 or before to 1850. Elijah Coffin, who had been Clerk of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, was in 1827 appointed Clerk of Indiana Yearly Meeting soon after his removal West, and served continuously for thirty-two years, then his son, Charles F. Coffin, served twenty-seven, covering a period of fifty-nine years. No persons had such opportunities as they to know the representative men among the pioneer Friends, or of the growth and settlement of meetings. Charles Osborn, whose life work was not only as a minister of the Gospel, in which he traveled extensively, but he was the first man in America to publish an anti-slavery paper, called the 'Philanthropist,' at Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, in 1816, in which he advocated the immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery. In after years it was published by Achelles Pugh of Cincinnati, and

destroyed by a mob in the early forties. Levi Coffin was everywhere known as the President of the Underground Railroad, and 3000 slaves passed through his hands to permanent liberty.

"Through the early days we found such staunch men in the Church as Wm. Hobbs, George Carter, George Evans, Thomas Evans, Robert Furnas, Jacob Elliott, David Baily, David Mote, Daniel Wood, Benajah Hiatt, James Hadley of White Lick, Robert W. Hodgson, Elezer Bates, Ephriam Morgan, Wm. Croseman, James Hadley of Fairfield, Joseph Doan, Thomas Arnett, Henry Wilson, James White, Joseph Cox, Daniel Williams, Wm. Talbert, John Maxwell, John Pool and very many others who deserve mention. These were all men universally esteemed as men of strict integrity, good judgment, deep Christian experience, sound in doctrine, well versed in the Holy Scriptures, and many of them able ministers of their day. While slavery was the over-ruling cause of the great emigration of Friends from the South, there were other causes. The land in the Southern States, much of it, had become exhausted from over-cropping, and very many had families growing up they wished to settle where they could procure rich, fertile lands at government prices."

In 1861 there were in the South seven Quarterly Meetings, thirty-one places of worship, twelve Friends schools, and about twenty-five thousand members. Twelve years later the Quarterly Meeting had increased to eight, the meeting places to forty-four, and the schools to forty-two, while the membership had more than doubled.

The Quakers increased in numbers in the various Western States, and in 1885 or 1886 began to settle in California and Oregon. Previous to this there were small Quaker Meetings in various parts of the coast. There are two meeting-houses in the city of Pasadena, one in Los Angeles, and the thriving town of Whittier was founded by Friends, who maintain one of the best Friends colleges in the West.

In the early settlement of eastern Indiana, the Society of Friends took no small part, and soon they came to constitute a large and influential portion of the population. They early established a system of schools of both primary and

academic grade, and not yet satisfied with this meagre course of instruction, they early projected a school that rapidly became a pioneer among Western colleges in the promotion of advanced instruction.

In 1832 the Friends launched a movement to establish a boarding school that should be the head of a system of denominational education and a site of three hundred acres was purchased near Richmond, Indiana. In 1837 a committee was chosen to establish the school, and in another year enough funds had been secured to start building. Many difficulties were encountered, and it was not until 1847 that the school was actually opened. For twelve years the Friends' Boarding School was a distinct factor in the work of education in Indiana. From the time of its foundation both sexes were admitted on equal terms, thus placing the institution among the earliest co-educational schools in America.

In 1859 the school received a college charter, and was named Earlham College. The earliest officers and teachers were men and women from New England, whose refinement, force of character and scholarly attainments gave it from its beginning an enviable reputation throughout the Ohio Valley.

Earlham College not only enjoys the distinction of being one of the first co-educational institutions in America, but of having been one of the foremost in the West to offer advanced practical instruction in Science. In 1853 it made the beginning in Indiana toward a permanent collection of material in Natural History for the purposes of college instruction. About this time the first astronomical observatory in the State was established upon the campus. There

also the first chemical laboratory in Indiana for the use of college students was equipped.

The first degrees were conferred in 1862. Since then more than nine hundred graduates have been sent out in all the professions and callings. Among these are Dr. Benj. F. Trueblood, General Secretary of the American Peace Society; Robert U. Johnson, editor of *Century Magazine*; S. Edgar Nicholson, General Secretary of the National Anti-Saloon League; T. Ray White, Chief Legal Counsel of the Civic Reform Movement in Philadelphia; and Wm. Cullen Dennis, former Assistant Solicitor, Department of State, Washington, D. C. The alumni are represented in nearly all the leading university faculties in the country.

In Oratory, Debating and Athletics, Earlham College has a record of which it is proud. Since 1893 the College has been represented in eighteen state oratorical contests, and has won first place six times, second place four times, and third place four times. In debating, since 1898, Earlham has been in nineteen inter-collegiate contests and won thirteen. In athletics, the college record has been an enviable one, ranking at the head of the colleges of its class in the state.

*The College has a campus of forty acres adjoining the City of Richmond, and overlooking the Whitewater River Valley. Eight spacious college buildings furnish the building equipment. Including the School of Music and College Extension Department, the student body last year (1910-1911) numbered 642. About 240 live in dormitories on the campus. The home life afforded the students is one of the

*I am indebted to Professor Harlow Lindley of Earlham College for this data.

distinctive features of the institution. It is interesting to note that the Quaker idea is carried out. The College has no fraternities, proms, smokers or card parties, but a healthful social atmosphere conducive to the most wholesome student life is maintained. The student body is remarkably cohesive and the absence of Greek letter fraternities has resulted in the establishment of a fraternity embracing the whole student body. The institution is a typical college as contrasted with a university. Its requirements are equivalent to those in the leading universities in America, but its work is concentrated, in the main, upon undergraduate courses. The management of the College is impressed with the conviction of the great need to-day for earnest, broad-minded and high-minded men, well grounded, educated and trained for active work and this is the goal for which the Friends' College is striving.

CHAPTER XXV.

QUAKERS IN WAR TIME.

It would not have required much prescience on the part of the student of government to forecast the destiny of a nation which would attempt to hold its place in the seventeenth century with other nations, armed with passive resistance and faith. This extraordinary argument succeeded in the colony of New England when the early Quaker pioneers won the battle from Endicott and the Puritans; but this was an inter-colonial affair; it was a fight between countrymen who were all true to their allegiance to the King and generally obeyed him. When the colonies were established in America the situation changed. America loomed up suddenly to the powers of the world much as did Africa after the finding of Livingstone. It was a new field for exploration. The Spanish had been the pioneers, originally owning the entire continent, and in following years the battle was on among the Dutch, English and French, with smaller governments looking wistfully on.

The early New England colonists would have had a sad time convincing the Indians of the fine truths of altruism, if their guns had not always been ready. With the Quakers, the Puritans put their trust in God, but here they parted. The Puritan kept his powder dry, while the Quaker would have none of it, and, as a consequence, his protection fell upon the rest, all of which occasioned endless dissensions. The amazed Indians in all the colonies were bombarded by the Episcopalians, Baptists, Quakers, Anabaptists, Catholics

and many more earnest missionaries, all of whose arguments had little practical effect upon the savage mind. One fact presented itself: the white man had secured a foothold and gradually and insidiously he was pushing them back and eternally back. He was a blight upon them. They observed that the Quakers, of all the sects, did exactly as they promised. The Quaker word appeared to be an equivalent to a Puritan treaty, as while in the main all the good men of the Puritans and Dutch attempted to deal fairly by the Indians and generally paid them, the fact remains that *all* the Quakers were morally alike. If they were Quakers, they could be relied upon, as the moment one of them digressed or took advantage of their fellow-men, he was disowned by the parent body. With other sects it was different. Good Puritans were the rule, but there were many bad and intolerant ones as the terrifying times of 1656 to 1690 gave dramatic evidence.

It is a miracle that the Quakers succeeded in making an impression upon the American savage; but it is a fact that they did, and that the American Indian, in the main, respected them, doubtless understood their principles and spared them on many occasions.

With the other Christian nations it was different. The English captured New York, lost it to the Dutch to take it again, and America for years was the scene of give and take in the French, Indian and other wars; and in the end the best men, the strongest-armed force won.

The Quakers have always advocated arbitration, and its last expression is the fine work of the Peace Society, Andrew Carnegie and his work for arbitration at The Hague, begun by William Penn. So long as the colony of Penn was in

the hands of the Quakers alone, this policy of no war could be carried out, but William Penn welcomed the people of all religions and nations, and as they gradually increased in numbers, he found that when they demanded protection, which was evidently needed, he was embarrassed. As a result, this feature aided materially the passing of the Colony from Quaker to the hands of those who believed in a policy of armed national defense. The situation was evidently impossible. The non-Quaker element voted appropriations for guns and powder, while the Quakers voted against it, or would not join in paying for it, hence the end came; and the Free Quaker, the Quaker who would fight for his country as a moral and religious duty, but who did not believe in war, became a dominant personality.

The first great test of the Quakers came in 1776. Previous to this they had been a political power in Rhode Island, New York and Pennsylvania; but when the Revolution broke out and the Americans declared themselves a nation, a sovereign people, the Quakers were unable to more than protest and refuse to participate, for which they were denounced as traitors and ingrates. Hundreds of Quakers and descendants of Quakers broke the bounds and have fought the battles of their country in war; but the masses still hold to the doctrine of George Fox that war is a crime, indefensible and a remnant of barbarism. If the Quakers did not fight or would not, they were not traitors, they were not inactive. In the hospitals, in philanthropy, in educating freedmen, in caring for soldiers, they did noble and heroic service.

The attitude of the Friends in the Revolution of 1776 and their efforts to prevent all wars might fill a large volume, as

they have never ceased their anti-war activities from 1650 to 1913.

While the Friends vigorously opposed an armament, there was a party under the leadership of James Logan of Philadelphia that believed that the Friends had gone too far in their opposition to war. Logan publicly stated that while he opposed an offensive war, a war of defense was not only within the bounds of Christianity, but any other policy was suicidal; and that any man who held such views was not fitted to represent the people in the Legislature. Logan, the first of the Free Quakers, was a man of influence, and he soon had many followers. He was an intimate friend of William Penn and one of the most learned and brilliant of all the Quakers of the Colony. He came from Ulster, and at an early age showed remarkable scholarship, earning distinction in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, the sciences and classics. Following 1699 he was a dominant figure in the Colony. A man of distinguished presence, broad courtesy and possessed of an abundance of common sense, he filled nearly all the more important offices in the Colony, was conspicuous for his faithful dealings with the Indians, and it was in his honor that the great chief Togahjute was called Logan. Logan was a friend of Linnaeus. He wrote Latin essays on reproduction in plants and on the aberration of light, and to him we owe an excellent translation of Catos *Disticha*, and Cicero's "*De Senectute*." On his death James Logan left his classical library of two thousand volumes to the city. It was the Logan faction of young Quakers which in 1764 armed themselves to protect the city from the Paxton boys, and proposed buying a cannon, calling it a "fire engine."

The "Paxton Boys" were part of a band who in 1763

killed several of the Conestoga Indians who were living on one of William Penn's manors in Lancaster County. The Paxton Boys were frontiersmen enraged by depredations of the Indians on the frontier, who determined to wipe out all Indians. The Lancaster authorities placed the rest of the Conestogas in jail to protect them, but the Paxton Boys broke into it and killed the Indians. Assembling to the number of several hundred, they determined to march on Philadelphia and kill a number of civilized Indians who had been sent there for safety by the Moravians, who had them in charge.

It was to repel these lynchers that some Quakers, on the advice of Logan, armed themselves. Isaac Sharpless sends to the Friends Historical Society a letter from Sarah Potts, later the wife of Benjamin Horner, which well describes the condition of affairs in Quaker homes of Philadelphia when menaced by the "Paxtons." Following are some extracts from this young girl's letter, dated Philadelphia, February 9th, 1764:

"My very dear Sister:—I expect it will give thee uncommon satisfaction to see a letter that will convince thee thy dear sister is still in the land of the living, after the dreadful accounts which I make no doubt have before this time reached White Hill, and filled thy heart with the extremest anxiety for the fate of this beloved city; but with how much more for the fate of those still dearer friends that inhabit it.

* * * * *

On Seventh Day there was an express that the Paxtons were coming down in a large body well armed, as was supposed to kill all the Indians and all that opposed them, if in their power. The citizens were immediately summoned to meet at the State House to consult what was to be done. The news flew about, and as is common in these cases lost nothing in carrying, so when it reached us the people were all in arms at eight o'clock on a First Day morning. By that time it was expected the Paxton Boys would be in town, and

it was feared the consequence would be a bloody battle, wherein a great many innocent people might fall. They endeavored to put themselves in as good a posture of defense as they could, and thinking the attack would be made at the barracks where the Indians were, turned most of their force there. * * * Came home and went to bed as usual, but were waked about 3 o'clock with the ringing of bells, the alarm guns, and a dreadful cry of fire. Judge what could have been more terrifying at such an hour. Poor sister, how I pity her when I think of it, with only her little family about her, when in such distress obliged to conceal as much as possible her own fright lest it should heighten the children's.

But when day appeared it seemed to dispel the melancholy gloom a little which had overcast the faces of all, at least the females. We could now see each other and consult what was to be done. Sister came to our house and brought more dismal accounts than we heard before, that there were 900 at Germantown for certain, and it was expected they had a great number of friends in town who would join them, that the street was so full of armed men she could hardly pass, Quakers not excepted; they seemed as ready to take up arms in such a cause to defend the laws and libertys of their country against a parcel of rebels. Edward Pennington, they say, was at the head of a company, and I am to think two-thirds of the young Quakers in town took up arms. I believe it's very certain there were two or three thousand men marching about town two or three days in expectation of the enemy's coming.

The Paxton boys, which were only about 250 in number, were frequently said to be 400 or 500. The big Meeting-house on Third Day, instead of having youths' meeting, as was expected, was appropriated to the use of the armed men to shelter them from the rain, when the men were exercising and the colors flying in the gallery, from where there has so often doctrine been preached against that very thing of bearing arms, etc., etc.

Our kind love and good wishes attend you, our dear sister and brother and your little ones, and that you may long be preserved from such tumults as we have lately felt, is the earnest desire of

SALLIE POTTS,

Your affectionate sister."

Up to the Revolution, the Quakers were active in politics, but their political doom was sealed when the idea became fixed in the minds of the English people that the time had come when every man would have to fight for his

country, or give up participation in its political affairs. The Quakers in the Colonies saw the shadow on the wall; they withdrew from politics, and refused to serve in the Legislature. Many events led up to the revolution of 1776. In 1762, fourteen years previous, the treaty of Fontainebleau brought to an end the French, English and Indian troubles which had been a menace to Pennsylvania and New Jersey; and hardly had the people settled down to fancied security when another and more serious cloud appeared on the horizon, one that was to broaden and sweep from England its greatest and most important possession.

Up to this time the policy of the home government had been not to demand taxes from the Colony; but allow them to raise their own taxes and employ them as they saw fit. The memorable history of the Stamp Act is well known. It was passed, despite protests in 1765, and was received in America in a manner at once ominous and suggestive. Virginia declared the Act invalid, Philadelphia muffled its bells, the papers appeared in mourning, while the flags were dropped to half mast. The Quakers refrained from action, and in an epistle to the London Meeting in 1766, we read: "Under the violent ferment reigning at this time in the colonies, the observation that the people of Pennsylvania and West Jersey have better to keep more free from tumults and riots than their neighbors, gives us cause to believe that the conduct and conversation of Friends hath in some measure tended to promote this good effect."

The home government was so alarmed that it repealed the Stamp Act in 1766, but still claimed the right to tax the colonies, and to make a demonstration and establish a precedent, it imposed a three pence tax per pound on tea and

various other articles; whereupon tea became at once a national issue. One of the standard jokes among the young Quakers of the New England coast in the nineteenth century was that after violent easterly storms, tea always washed ashore, and many an unfortunate boy hunted along the beautiful beach of Lynn, for the tea that had been thrown overboard a century before. The Americans now refused to buy English tea, importing it direct from Holland. Over four hundred merchants signed a paper to this effect; among them many Quakers who now found themselves facing the query read in the Meeting, "Are Friends careful not to defraud the King of his dues?" and were obliged to confess that they proposed to deprive his Majesty of all his dues, unless the Act was repealed. This was the first "boycott," and the West India Company soon made so strong a protest that in 1733 the Government repealed the Act.

The Imperial Government had unwise counselors in those days, and they avoided the issue by putting a tax on the West India Company for all teas landed in America. The Company very naturally would have added the tax to the price of the tea, and made the colonists pay it in the end; but the Americans stood for the principle. In all these measures the Friends were parties. In Philadelphia the chief tea importers were James & Drinker, and T. & I. Wharton, Quakers, yet the Quakers in general sent an official declaration to the king showing their loyalty, and a disposition to avoid trouble in which they were aided by Benjamin Franklin. The above-mentioned Quaker firms shipped their tea back. Paul Revere now arrived in Philadelphia to secure their aid, and later came the destruction of tea in the harbor of Boston. I have heard my grandfather, John

Chase Gove, a militant Quaker, tell the story given him by his father, who was present at the famous "tea party" in Boston.

The situation in 1775 was menacing for Quakers. Many were still in the Legislature; others were violently opposed to any concession to the warlike feeling, and were like Rotch of Nantucket, who threw his bayonets overboard and sailed for France, while others again were convinced that it was their duty to stand with the Colony and did so. Numerous epistles were sent to the home meeting, and an exhortation to Friends written at this time reads as follows:

"As divers members of our religious Society, some of them without their consent or knowledge, have been lately nominated to attend on and engage in some public affairs, which they cannot undertake without deviating from these our religious principles; we therefore earnestly beseech and advise them, and all others, to consider the end and purpose of every measure to which they are desired to become parties, and with great circumspection and care, to guard against joining in any, for the asserting and maintaining our rights and liberties which, on mature deliberation, appear not to be dictated by that "wisdom which is from above; which is pure, peaceable, gentle, full of mercy and good fruits."

The closing of the port of Boston by the crown, and the imposition of a penalty incensed the people, and other aggressive acts brought on the war, and left the Quakers in a most unfortunate position. No Quaker was ever proved a coward. As a body they could not fight on principle, and it was their religious duty to advise against it. They had always been loyal to the king, George III., and, doubtless

many were in sympathy with the Colony; but as a body they decided on absolute neutrality, and withdrew from participation. None but brave men could have done this. As a result, they lost control of Pennsylvania and other places where they had been the dominant political powers. The echoes of the guns of Bunker Hill had not died away before the Pennsylvania Quakers began to raise money to aid their countrymen, and while they did not fight, up to September, 1776, they raised about sixteen thousand dollars.

It was now that the "Free Quakers" came into notice, young Friends who took up arms in defense of the Colony. As soon as they were suspected the matter was taken up by the meeting, and if guilty, they were disowned. A thousand disagreeable features presented themselves, and the Quakers were rent in meetings and families by the many interpretations of conscience. Families who would not contribute to the war were forced to do so by those who had no patience with the Quaker non-fighting idea. They were jailed for refusing to fight, fined for not taking the oath. Their houses were looted of lead, and they were hounded and abused to the limit of endurance. If they refused to enlist their household goods were taken. Isaac Morris of Philadelphia was forced to pay seventy-five pounds for refusing the oath, and a boycott was established on Quakers. As a humiliation, guns were tied to them, and in small bodies they were forced to march. All the terrors of 1658 seem to have returned. The Quakers were again on the unpopular side.

Their enemies even forged a paper purporting to give information to the British of the patriot forces. This was signed "Spanktown Monthly Meeting," and was taken so

seriously, though an arrant forgery, that a number of Quakers were banished. The following were arrested:

"1777, Ninth Month, 2nd.—William Drewitt Smith, Thomas Affleck, Thomas Gilpin, William Lennox, Alexander Stedman, Charles Stedman, Samuel Rowland Fisher, William Inlay, James Pemberton, Miers Fisher, Thomas Fisher, Thomas Wharton, Edward Pennington, John Pemberton, Owen Jones, Jr., Charles Eddy, Joseph Fox, Thomas Combe, Jr., William Smith, broker.

Ninth Month, 3rd.—Henry Drinker, Charles Jervis, John Galloway, William Hollingshead, E. Ayres, Phineas Bond, Thomas Pike.

Ninth Month, 4th.—John Hunt, Israel Pemberton, Samuel Pleasants.

Ninth Month, 5th.—Elijah Brown."

Passive resistance was again the rule. Soldiers used the meeting houses as barracks, and the Friends met elsewhere in homes or barns. When their houses were looted, their grain taken, their horses, seized they not only did not complain, but they *refused to take compensation*. In a word, they would not, by thought or deed, aid in war, on the ground that it was one of the fundamental principles of their religious life. When the British entered Philadelphia they paid scant courtesy to the "neutrals" or Quakers, yet when the Patriots again took the city, they looked upon the Quakers as Tories or Tory sympathizers, and hanged two of them, while Robert Morris, James Wilson and Thomas Mifflin had narrow escapes. They were driven from their homes, stoned and beaten, and life made a continual menace. Their financial losses were, doubtless, over one million dollars, showing that neutrality during the American Revolution was an expensive luxury.

Through the long war the Quakers stood by their moral code, which to-day is recognized by the greatest thinkers

as not only practicable, but right; and at the close, they took up their philanthropic work for the education of the freedmen, and other good works and reforms. They were numerically weakened by the Free Quakers, who now formed meetings, and lived as Quakers with the exception that they reserved the right to take arms in defense of their country, and to hold office in the state or government.

The last attacks made upon the Quakers came in 1781, when Lord Cornwallis surrendered to General Washington. The entire country was aroused to a fever of patriotism. The Quakers could not, under their code of morals, rejoice and they did not. This was seized upon as evidence of Tory sympathy, and they were attacked on all sides, their homes despoiled or ruined. Again the meeting for sufferings at Philadelphia presented a statement to the President and Executive Council and General Assembly of Pennsylvania, explaining their views; that they could not fight or rejoice at anything appertaining to war. They used all the arguments in 1780 which the great peace societies are using to-day, yet without avail.

In 1782 came the cessation of hostilities, and a better understanding of the Quakers and their attitude resulted. George Washington was now elected President, the original confederation of states giving way to the federal constitution. The Quakers were always loyal, and the form of government having been decided on, they recognized and acknowledged it in a loyal and patriotic address to the President, in which they explained that being irrevocably opposed to war in any shape or form, they had been unable to take sides or even declare their choice for or against the mother country; they had remained absolutely neutral. This

address was issued by the Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia on 28th of 9th month to the 3rd of 10th month, 1789.

To the President of the United States.

The Address of the Religious Society called Quakers, from their Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and the Western parts of Maryland and Virginia.

"Being met in this our annual assembly, for the well ordering the affairs of our religious Society, and the promotion of universal righteousness, our minds have been drawn to consider, that the Almighty, who ruleth in heaven, and in the kingdom of men, has permitted a great revolution to take place in the government of this country; we are fervently concerned, that the rulers of the people may be favoured with the counsel of God, the only sure means of enabling them to fulfil the important trust committed to their charge; and, in an especial manner, that divine wisdom and grace, vouchsafed from above, may qualify thee to fill up the duties of the exalted station to which thou art appointed.

"We are sensible thou has obtained great place in the esteem and affections of people of all denominations over whom thou presidest; and many eminent talents being committed to thy trust, we much desire they may be fully devoted to the Lord's honour and service—that thus thou mayst be a happy instrument in his hand, for the suppression of vice, infidelity, and irreligion, and every species of oppression on the persons or consciences of men, so that righteousness and peace, which truly exalt a nation, may prevail throughout the land, as the only solid foundation that can be laid for the prosperity and happiness of this or any country.

"The free toleration which the citizens of these States enjoy, in the public worship of the Almighty, agreeable to the dictates of their consciences, we esteem among the choicest of blessings; and as we desire to be filled with fervent charity for those who differ from us in matters of faith and practice, believing that the general assembly of saints is composed of the sincere and upright-hearted of all nations, kingdoms, and people; so, we trust, we may justly claim it from others; and in a full persuasion that the divine principle we profess, leads unto harmony and concord, we can take no part in carrying on war on any occasion, or under any power, but are bound in conscience to lead quiet and peaceable lives, in godliness and honesty among men, con-

tributing freely our proportion to the indigencies of the poor, and to the necessary support of civil government. acknowledging those who rule well to be worthy of double honour, and if any professing with us are, or have been, of a contrary disposition and conduct, we owe them not therein; having never been chargeable from our first establishment as a religious Society, with fomenting or countenancing tumults or conspiracies, or disrespect to those who are placed in authority over us.

"We wish not improperly to intrude on thy time or patience, nor is it our practice to offer adulation to any; but as we are a people whose principles and conduct have been misrepresented and traduced, we take the liberty to assure thee that we feel our hearts affectionately drawn towards thee, and those in authority over us, with prayers, that thy presidency may under the blessing of Heaven, be happy to thyself and to the people; that through the increase of morality and true religion, Divine Providence may condescend to look down upon our land with a propitious eye, and bless the inhabitants with the continuance of peace, the dew of Heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and enable us gratefully to acknowledge his manifold mercies: and it is our earnest concern, that He may be pleased to grant thee every necessary qualification to fill thy weighty and important station to his glory; and, that finally, when all terrestrial honours shall fail and pass away, thou and thy respectable consort may be found worthy to receive a crown of unfading righteousness in the mansions of peace and joy forever.

"Signed in and on behalf of the said meeting, held in Philadelphia by adjournments, from the 28th of the Ninth Month, to the 3rd of the Tenth Month inclusive, 1789."

"Nicholas Waln, Clerk."

To this the President replied as follows:

"The answer of the President of the United States, to the Address of the Religious Society called Quakers, from their Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and the Western Parts of Maryland and Virginia.

"Gentlemen,—I receive with pleasure your affectionate address, and thank you for the friendly sentiments and good wishes which you express for the success of my administration, and for my personal happiness.

"We have reason to rejoice for the prospect, that the national government, which, by the favour of Divine Providence, was formed by common councils, and peaceably established with the common consent of the people, will prove a blessing to every denomination of them; to

render it such, my best endeavours shall not be wanting. Government being among other purposes instituted to protect the persons and consciences of men from oppression, it certainly is the duty of rulers, not only to abstain from it themselves, but according to their stations to prevent it in others.

"The liberty enjoyed by the people of these States of worshipping Almighty God agreeably to their consciences, is not only among the choicest of their blessings, but also of their rights; while men perform their social duties faithfully, they do all that society or the state can with propriety expect or demand, and remain responsible only to their Maker for the religion or mode of faith which they may prefer or profess.

"Your principles and conduct are well known to me; and it is doing the people called Quakers no more than justice to say that (except their declining to share with others, the burthen of the common defence) there is no denomination among us who are more exemplary and useful citizens. I assure you very explicitly that in my opinion, the conscientious scruples of all men should be treated with great delicacy and tenderness; and it is my wish and desire, that the laws may always be as extensively accommodated to them, as due regard to the protection and essential interests of the nation may justify and permit.

(Signed) "George Washington."

The modern Quakers would not fight, but they served nobly in every other capacity. The Quakers worked in hospitals, on the field as nurses, in the great sanitary commissions to aid the wounded. They supplied large sums for aid in all directions, and after the war they did yeoman's service during the reconstructive period. The Quakers of New England Yearly Meeting recognized the fact that the negro was unfitted for citizenship, and many of them, earnest in their belief that Abraham Lincoln had made a mistake in giving this vast horde of slaves full rights of citizenship without any preparation, established schools in various sections for the education of the negro, proposing to prepare him for the citizenship that had come to him so suddenly. One of these was called the Freedmans School. It was

established in Washington, where a little band of Quakers from the New England Yearly Meeting began the education of the negro, old and young,—a most difficult and unpromising work.

This was carried on for years, and hundreds of negroes given a fundamental training. In this large school under the direction of a committee of the New England Meeting, of whom Charles F. Coffin, Maria Coffin, Joseph Grinnell of New Bedford, Edward and Annie B. Earle of Worcester, Hannah G. Gove, John Chase Gove, of Lynn, and others, served as members, the latter having for several years the directing control. This work of the Quakers was illustrative of their activities in many directions immediately following the war; and is one of the reasons why the name Quaker is a synonym of honor, fidelity and faithfulness throughout the world. The anti-war theories of the Quakers which had their beginning in 1656 in America with the entrance of Christopher Holder and his little band, were two and a half centuries ahead of their time; but like many other views have been recognized as an anticipation of great and fundamental truths.

In the American War of the Rebellion of the sixties, the attitude of the Quakers concerning war remained unchanged with this exception: thousands of men and women of all sects and denominations had been convinced that the war was not only hell, as General Sherman forcibly expressed it, but that it was a crime, a remnant of barbarism. I have recently listened to a notable address given by David Starr Jordan, who took the biological side of the argument that the best physically, the most virile of the young men were

killed in the wars of all countries. The weaklings were left at home to perpetuate the race, which resulted in a continual repression of the normal tendency of nature to improve and produce a higher, better and stronger race. To-day there are peace societies of various kinds in every large country—England, the continent and America, and thousands of men and women of all denominations are working and legislating to make this doctrine of the Quakers a law. They will succeed. War will cease by the agreement of great nations, and laws preventing great capitalists, as the Rothschilds and others, from loaning nations money to carry on war will be agreed on. Armies will then be reduced to a size sufficient only for national police.

The Quakers were often drafted during the Civil War in America, on both sides, but they refused to fight, while there were many free Quakers who in 1860 held the opinion James Logan entertained during the Revolution. The author's father, Dr. Joseph Bassett Holder, entered the army, and served during the entire war at the Dry Tortugas, Florida, as surgeon, saving many lives by his skill in fighting yellow fever, and sacrificed the best years of his life in caring for the physical needs of prisoners and soldiers. He was never disowned by the New York Meeting, of which he was a member at his death in 1888, suggestive of the change of sentiment.

Many Friends and descendants of Friends fought on both sides in this unfortunate war of brothers, but the main body held to their principles and were non-combatants. Charles D. Gove, a Friend, was forced into the Confederate army; and many Northern Friends were drafted, especially in Indiana, where some paid the two hundred dollars exempt

fine. But Allen Jay, who was drafted, would not go to war, would not pay or fight, so his farm was offered for sale. Governor Morton spoke to President Lincoln and the sale was stopped. This, doubtless, occurred in many instances.

The attitude of the Friends in the 17th century was that war was a crime against humanity and inexcusable. In the 19th century John Bright took up the slogan and fought against it with all the power of his marvelous eloquence, wit and sarcasm. To-day, in 1913, the keenest and most logical minds recognize the wisdom of the early Quaker idea of peace, and all the abuse the Quakers received during two hundred years, the charges of cowardice in 1776 from the patriots, treason from the Tories, melt away before the modern recognition of the fact that the millenium is at hand and that in the days to come capital will be controlled, and two or three governments gathering together in the name of God and humanity, will demand that the warring nations submit their contentions to arbitration. What is being done to-day to this end is due to many men; but it is well to remember Albert K. Smiley and the Mohonk Conference, Andrew Carnegie and his great work for arbitration; the labors of David Starr Jordan, and the 90,000 of American Friends who carry on the work of their ancestors quietly and surely. The thanks of the world and humanity are due to men like Carnegie, Ginn and others, and to women like Mrs. Russell Sage and other promoters of peace.

The World Peace Foundation, founded by Edwin Ginn, was permanently organized in July, 1910, and incorporated later in the same year. The trustees of the Foundation are Edwin Ginn, President Lowell of Harvard University, Pres-

ident Faunce of Brown University, President Swain of Swarthmore College, Professor Samuel T. Dutton of Columbia University, Miss Sarah Louise Arnold, dean of Simmons College, Rev. Edward Cummings, Hon. Samuel W. McCall, George A. Plimpton of New York, George W. Anderson, Samuel B. Capen and Albert E. Pillsbury of Boston. The directors are Dr. David Starr Jordan, Edwin D. Mead, James Brown Scott, Rev. Charles R. Brown, James A. Macdonald, John R. Mott and Hamilton Holt. The treasurer is Richard H. Dana.

CHAPTER XXVI.

QUAKER HOME LIFE IN AMERICA.

The home life of Quakers, that has a charm and individuality difficult to describe, began at Sandwich, Mass., where Christopher Holder made his first converts, preached in the Allen, Wing, Ewer and other homes, then in "Christopher's Hollow"—the first Friends' "meeting-house" in America. In the early days, before there were meeting-houses, the Friends met in the homes. In 1901, my kinswoman, Miss Sarah Hacker, in a paper before the Lynn Historical Society, stated that the first yearly meeting in America was held in the home of our forebear, Mathew Estes (d'Estes) of Salem, of whom as children we read, "Mathew Estes distraited of three pewter plates, pine boards, one silver spoon and sundries to the amount of two pounds for priests dues." Dr. Rufus Jones, of Haverford, has shown the date to be otherwise.

One cannot well describe the homes of others, and I regret that I cannot paint a word picture of the Quaker homes I knew in the 19th century in New Bedford, Providence, Newport, Lynn, New York and London.

As we have seen, the Quakers increased rapidly in New England, and Yearly Meetings are found to-day in Canada, New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, California, Oregon, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, North Carolina and Ohio.

The Quakers, as a rule, were prosperous. I do not recall a poor one, and a pauper would have been an impossibility. A typical home of the 1850-period is described by Dr.

Joseph Bassett Holder of Lynn. The house was built, doubtless, in 1690, by the author's great grandfather, Richard Holder:

"As I remember our old homestead, its characteristics were similar to many of the colonial houses of the 18th century. There was a large chimney in the centre, with ample fireplaces and a very wide panel for the back of the fireplace. The latter was faced with ancient Chinese tiling, the delicate blue producing a beautiful effect (one of these is in the possession of the author). The ceiling with boxed beams, the center beam running through the middle of the ceiling being wide and handsomely boxed. The buffet was a striking feature, and when I built, it was taken out and placed in the house which now stands on the corner of Sagamore and Nahant Streets. It was better than the average. It occupied the outer corner of the drawing room. The woodwork was finished in mouldings, the open part having a round finishing at top, and the closet at the bottom, with panel doors. On the inside at the top, the roof was lathed and plastered, to form a concave or spoon-shaped structure. Neatly cut or scalloped shelves were placed at intervals. The contents of this buffet at this time would delight the eye now; a rich silver tankard of ancient pattern, solid and valuable, quaint silver spoons, and other objects, great rows of old blue china and delf, with many other pieces brought from abroad and heirlooms in the family from the time of Daniel Holder of Nantucket in 1750.

"The old house was furnished handsomely, indeed richly, the sofa, chairs and tables being solid mahogany with gray Friendly tint coverings with a brave array of brass-headed tacks. It would have been rich even to-day with its quaint

pieces and ornaments of brass; yet over all was the air of dignity which characterizes the homes of Friends everywhere. In the corner was a high clock, and in another an ancient desk, which belonged to my great grandfather, Daniel Holder, the shipbuilder, of Nantucket, having been made some time in 1700. (This desk, here shown, is now in the possession of the author.) Another piece of ancient furniture was a black spindle-leg table which belonged to Grandfather Breed (1690). The house, as near as can be determined, was built by Richard Holder about the time of the Declaration of Independence, though others believe that it was built by Grandfather Breed in 1690."

Dr. J. Holder also gives this description of the Holder family country home in Uxbridge, Massachusetts. They were pronounced Abolitionists and often entertained William Loyd Garrison: "The old home at this time was a central point in several senses. Our grandparents, Joseph and Rachael Bassett, were prominent members of the Society of Friends of Uxbridge Monthly Meeting, worshipping in the 'Old Brick' meeting-house, which was situated in the south part of the town. Their house was a special resort for Friends on all occasions of travel or ceremony. A goodly number of Friends resided in Northbridge. The old carriage house and cider mill attached was then an interesting structure, affording a place to the family vehicles. Something between a hackney coach and a mail wagon was the form of the family carriage. Well built and generous in dimensions, wondrous most in heavy leathern thoroughbraces and backbends, its carrying capacity being for six persons. The jaunty, coach-like aspect, was complete in its canary-yellow painted exterior, when equipped for a jour-

ney, with its out-riding racks for baggage. The emergencies of winter were provided for in the great double sleigh, a large affair on two sets of runners; altogether a winter counterpart of the wheel vehicle, not omitting the canary-yellow. In very inclement weather the carriage top was mounted on the sleigh runners, and thus a comfortable covered vehicle was had. My memory vividly includes riding to meeting in this carriage."

The Quaker homes were very much alike, comfortable, even luxurious; and my impression as a child of that of my paternal grandfather is a long dining room with rows of silver and pewter, and often from five to ten or more guests at dinner. Hospitality was one of the Quaker virtues, and there was nothing "simple" or "plain" about the Lynn Quaker table of my many kinsmen or acquaintances. There were always Quaker ministers travelling through the town on "concerns" and being entertained; Friends from the West and from England and local Friends visiting, or many coming home to dinner at fourth day or first day, or at the Monthly or Quarterly Meetings.

Quaker visitors never went to a hotel, no matter how many there were. Each Quaker home had from one to a number of "spare" rooms, which were entirely devoted to guests. The life of the Quaker was consistent and safeguarded day by day. In the home, the family conducted itself on week-days as on Sunday. There was a conscientious attempt to live up to the Ten Commandments. The "pernicious" gaieties of life were eliminated. There was no music or dancing, no theatres or gay dressing, little or no jewelry; the only difference between the poor Quaker and the rich Quaker being that the latter had, perhaps, more

brown or drab or black silk dresses and bonnets. The costume of the women consisted of a plain brown, black or drab dress either of poplin or silk; the neck was cut low, but completely covered with a white muslin handkerchief, and over the shoulders was worn a cream-white raw-silk shawl. On the head was worn a muslin cap tied beneath the chin. The bonnet was a "poke," not a thing of beauty, really an extraordinary creation, yet when filled by the sweet, often beautiful and always spiritual faces of the Quaker women, the strange head-gear lost its incongruity, and lent dignity to the wearer. I have a distinct recollection that these bonnets had to be made at a certain shop in Philadelphia, and that the "Gurneyite" shape was the vogue in my particular family. There were several types, this and the Wilburite. This bonnet was either black or drab, or a rich brown, and matched the shawl or the gown, and while it was most trying in its severity, without the slightest ornament, it was always rich. Curiously enough, the general shape of the English or American Quaker bonnet came into general use in 1849-50; the only difference between them and the fashionable prototype being that they were in gay colors and bore ornaments, as ostrich or bird of Paradise feathers. The shape was the same, judging from a fashion plate from the *Conseiller des Dames* of Paris.

The most beautiful and expensive silks and shawls were used for occasions of dress, and an air of elegance characterized the Quaker woman. Indeed, it would be difficult to imagine more commanding and beautiful women than Elizabeth Fry of England, or in my own State of Massachusetts or vicinity, Sybil Jones, Hannah G. Gove of Lynn, Rachael Howland of New Bedford, Eunice Boyce, Mary

Breed or Avis Keene of Lynn. The poke bonnet was more of a ceremonial bonnet. There was another called the drawn bonnet, worn on less important days, and there was an oiled silk cord for the poke bonnet for inclement weather, and long, profoundly impressive, almost military cloaks.

It is somewhat singular that the Friends innocently lost sight of the fact that "richness" was really a "vanity;" but they seemed to find the desired plainness of costume in the cut and color, as the women I knew the best all had in their plain clothes the finest and richest silks which Philadelphia could afford. This was true of the attire of the men. My great grandfather, Richard Holder of Nantucket, later of Lynn is described by my father:—"He was fond of horses and kept quite an establishment for the day, driving a two-wheeled chaise, the body of which was painted pink, yellow and brown, according to the fashion of the time. He was a prominent Quaker, sat upon the high seat, and dressed in the height of Friendly garb, coat, hat, breeches, and silver shoe buckles." These buckles would have caused his disownment fifty years previous.

In the next generation, nineteenth century, the costume of the man in New England and New York City was usually a black broadcloth coat, with standing collar, often faced with velvet, no buttons behind, and cut away in front, a black silk or a white muslin necktie, and a silk hat with a brim a little broader than usual. Some Quakers wore drab coats of broadcloth, and the very best was the first day attire, and as with the women, it was the best. In a word, the Quakers were "plainly" but "elegantly" dressed, as became men of possible wealth and position. If this community of one thousand could have been compared to one thou-

sand non-Quakers, selected at random, I should say that the Quakers would have exceeded them in culture, refinement and education. They were naturally cultivated, and many of them in Lynn, Salem, Providence, New Bedford and Philadelphia, constituted the aristocracy of the cities in which they lived; but would have been inexpressibly shocked if they had known it or had been accused of it. They led in the gentle arts, often in wealth, in family and in lineage, and more than often in the quiet richness and beauty of their homes.

The life of the Quaker in some way gave the people a sweetness and refinement, an innate aristocratic bearing that distinguished them from all other classes; and it was a true, fine feeling, as in the meeting and in social life, the rich Quaker never felt above the poor Quaker. The only dividing line between them was the one found everywhere, and which makes class, namely, the variations of culture. Those of like grades of culture, education and refinement became social intimates, though not to the entire exclusion of others; but there *was* this difference. The home life was particularly charming. The families were often large, and very social, "spending the day," sewing societies, among the women, reading societies, literary societies, at which such men as Gould Brown of grammar fame and others figured, charitable societies of all kinds, and philanthropic work took the place of balls, card parties and dancing.

As I look back to my youth in Lynn, I do not recall having many friends outside of the Society. We were never told not to associate with others, but it came about naturally. One of my first recollections was the Boston Old Guard, wearing their bear-skin caps, coming down the street

during the Fremont campaign. As they approached, my grandmother, Rachael Bassett Holder, who was a minister, came out of the house and led me in that I, as a child, might not see the evidence and panoply of war.

The Friends were particularly appreciative of the aged, and the elderly Friends and ministers were held in the highest respect and veneration, honored in every way, and never considered too old to give good advice. Julia Ward Howe refers to this. She "never saw in all her travels such universal respect and deference from youth to age, as in the Society of Friends." My kinswoman, Miss Sarah Hacker, a descendant of the famous Major Hacker of Cromwell's time, refers to the Lynn Meeting as she and I knew it:

*"It may interest you to know the names of some of the men and women who sat on the "high seats," as they were called in the early part of the century. I have spoken of Micajah Collins, one of the earliest. With him, and coming down one or two generations are the following:— Mathew Purinton, Estes Newhall, Daniel Johnson, Charles Chase, James Purinton, Moses Bede, Samuel Boyce, Nathan Breed, Micajah Pratt, John B. Chase, William Breed and Benj. Jones; while on the facing seat, though not ministers or elders, were Newhall Breed, Theophilus, William and Jacob Chase, John Bailey, David Rodman, Moses Breed, Samuel Neal, John C. Gove. On the women's side sat Betsy Purinton, wife of Matthew Purinton, and Mary Newhall, Avis Keene, Hannah Collins, Jane Mansfield, Elizabeth Breed, Ruth Bassett, Miriam Newhall, Rachel Bassett Holder, Olive Oliver, Mary E. Breed, Eliza Boyce,

*Paper read before the Lynn Historical Society.

Hannah Paige, Abigail Beede and Abby W. Pratt, while on the facing seat was Sarah Breed, Amy Bassett Breed and Miriam Breed Johnson.

David Rodman was Librarian of the Friends Library, which they used to have for a time in the gallery of the meeting-house. Charles Coffin for many years made Lynn his home, and was regarded one of the best, if not the best, minister of his time in Lynn."

The names above mentioned were some of the leaders among Friends and representatives of the old aristocracy of the New England Friends.

There was a delightful optimism in the family, a cheerfulness and courtesy between members that could not fail to impress one. All the trials and tribulations of the world seemed to pass over the heads of the Quakers, and their life was, in the main, unruffled. The Quaker was the ideal citizen. I once looked over the private record of a large meeting for a century, and during all this time no Quaker in that community had committed a serious crime, or broken a law. The record of a clean, moral bill of health was almost unbelievable, due to the unrelaxing supervision of ministers, parents and committee. The parents inculcated not only the simple life, but the life and example of Christ in the children, while the meeting and its committee looked after the conduct of the parents, and it was the duty of every Friend to acquaint the meeting with any defection. The meeting-house was the hub of the wheel of righteousness, the home was the axle.

The meeting-house at Lynn was a long rectangular building, the interior fitted with bench seats polished white. The women sat on one side, the men on the other, and between

them were doors or shutters which could be pulled down, dividing the meeting. There was a "high seat" extending along the entire building for the accepted ministers, a lower one for elders, and a facing seat for distinguished guests, not ministers. In the center was a high stove in winter. The seats were well cushioned with drab or dark green, and the effect was attractive and even beautiful. In this meeting-house distinguished Friends of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, American and European met, Joseph John Gurney, Stanley Pumphrey, Bevan Braithwaite and others, and there were always from five to eight ministers on either seat.

First-Day (Sunday) meeting was always well attended. Friends gathered early, and in the big porch or on the grounds met and lingered in social converse until the time of meeting. Then they gradually took their seats, the women on one side, the men on the other, and the service began. There were always a few men, even in 1870-80, or later, who did not remove their hats, and many more who wore them a few moments. At rare intervals the meeting would be one of entire silence; but generally there would be several prayers, and one or two excellent, always extemporaneous sermons. Some of the old Friends, in preaching, fell into a sing-song method of delivery. The hat was always removed during prayer or sermon; but the congregation never bowed the head, knelt or stood up. The test of an hour's silence was often a supreme one for young people. The members of the congregation or any visitor were at liberty to speak; but if the language of the visitor was intemperate or not in accord with the custom, the speaker was requested to be seated, and if he insisted, he was gently but forcibly led out.

It was from this promiscuous speaking in the body of the meeting that ministers were "discovered," as ministers were never paid, nor were they supposed to prepare themselves in advance. To quote, "We consider the gift of the ministry to be of so pure and sacred a nature that no payment should be made for its exercise, and that it never ought to be undertaken for pecuniary remuneration." "Anyone who felt moved thereunto had the privilege of addressing the meeting, and after a certain time, if the "testimony" borne by the Friend met with approval, he or she was recommended to the Monthly Meeting by the select preparative meeting of ministers and elders, and, if the Monthly Meeting, after deliberate consideration, should unite in believing that a gift in the ministry of the gospel has been committed to him or her, a minute expression thereof should be forwarded to the Quarterly Meeting of ministers and elders, when the case being "solidly weighed" and the sense of the Monthly Meeting concurred with, information thereof should be sent to the Monthly Meeting, also to the preparation meeting of ministers and elders, of which the individual is to be a member. And until the approbation of the Quarterly Meeting of ministers and elders is obtained, no such Friend is to be received as a minister "or travel abroad as a minister."

There was a charm about the Quaker meetings of the ancient type which cannot be denied, and they can still be seen in Philadelphia, Pasadena, Cal., and elsewhere.

On the fourth day, or Wednesday, there was a regular meeting at which the women usually predominated. The next in importance was the Monthly Meeting. At this there were generally visitors from Salem and abroad. Friends always entertained; guests were never neglected, and one of

my most cheerful and youthful recollections is the dining room of my paternal and maternal grandparents, with ten or twenty "Friends" attending the Monthly or Quarterly Meeting dinners. Among the guests, I recall Eli and Sybil Jones, Joseph John Gurney of England, who became so interested that he left my grandfather's home *without* his hat, and had to be called back, and many more.

It is characteristic of the Friends that their sermons were never recorded. They were spontaneous and often powerful, and beautiful in language and meaning. Lindley Hoag of New Hampshire was often heard, and the rolling, sonorous character of his style can be illustrated by the following favorite text, remembered by Miss Hacker: "Hoag was a large, impressive man, and when those words rolled out, his fine face lighted up, they had their effect,—*'And when ten thousand times ten thousand years shall have passed away, eternity, a boundless, endless eternity, must be spent with the saints in light, or with the devils damned.'*" Samuel Boyce, Benjamin Jones and Moses Beede were famous Lynn ministers, the latter being very poetic and eloquent. In a preface to one of his poems, "The Meeting," Whittier refers to two noted New England Friends, Avis Keene, "whose very presence was a benediction," and Sybil Jones. Other gifted ministers and Friends of Lynn were Mary Newhall, Mary E. Breed, Miriam Breed Johnson and Eliza Boyce.

During the business meetings the sliding doors were closed, and the men and women held their meetings apart. The business of the Society was carried on here, a clerk presiding, who announced all questions, and asked for what was equivalent elsewhere to a debate. Members would either speak

in it, or merely say "I agree," or "I unite," or "that Friend speaks my mind." The clerk was empowered not only with the authority of a judge of the Supreme Court, but he anticipated the sense of the meeting, and decided in favor of what he thought the weight of sentiment, and this was, as a rule, accepted. If not, it was generally referred to the Quarterly, and then if they could not agree, to the Yearly Meeting, the supreme authority. At the business meeting the arrangement for the care of the poor was made, and it can be said that there were no poor, as such members merely entered families, their board being paid by the meeting or given by some kind friend, the poor never being known. In a like manner poor Quaker children were educated at Friends Schools at the expense of the meeting. The Clerk would now read what were known as "Queries." The following is a set which was copied from the original in the Library of the Friends School at Providence, Rhode Island. These were often read in the Lynn Meeting, and appear in the Book of Discipline of the New England Yearly Meeting, early in 1785. They differ but little from queries read in Lynn between 1860, 1890; that is, the sense of the query was the same, as it was intended to cover every possible question necessary to keep the members in spiritual alignment:

1.

"Are all meetings for Religious Worship and Discipline duly attended, the hour observed, and are Friends Preserved from Sleeping and taking Snuff therein or from Interrupting the Solemnity of the Ocation by frequent going out of meetings or other indencent behaviour

2.

"Is love and Unity maintained Amongst you as becomes the followers of Christ, are tale bearing, backbiting and Spreading evil reports discouraged, and where any differences arise are endeavors used Speedily to end them?

3.

"Are Friends carfull to bring up those under their direction In plainness of Speech, behaviour, and apparel, and frequent Readings the holy Scriptures, to Restrain them from reading Pernicious books and the corrupt conversation of the world.

4.

"Are friends carfull to avoid the Excessive Spiritous lickquers, the unnecessary frequenting of taverns and places of diversion, and keep in true moderation and temperance, on account of births, marriages, burials and all other ocations?

5.

"Are poor Friends necessities duly inspected, they relieved or Assisted in such business as they are capable of, do their children freely-partake of learning to fit them for business, and are they and other friends children placed among friends, and are friends carfull to visit theme in affliction?

6.

"Do no young or single persons make or admit proposals of Marriage with Each other without consent of parents or guardians, nor keep company with those of other Societies on that account, And if parents give their consent to or connive all their Children keeping company or marrying with those of other Societies are they delt with according to our discipline or are there any professing with us who have been present at marriages consumated contrary to the rules of our discipline?

7.

"Do no widows admit proposals of marage too early after the death of their former husband, or from widowers soon after the death of a former wife then is consistent with decency?

8.

"Do you maintain a faithful testimony against taking of oaths, against payment of priests wages or those called church rates and against defrauding the King of his dues by avoiding to purchase or sell goods unlawfully imported or prise goods and against being concerned in, lotteries of any kind?

9.

"Are friends carfull to make their wills and Settle their outward estates whilst in health and take friends advice therein when necessary and are they clear of purchasing Negroes and do they use those well which they are possessed of Indeavouring to instruct them in the principles of the christian Religion.

10.

"Are friends careful to live within the Bounds of their Surcomstance and to avoid Lanching into trade and bishness Beyond their abilities to manige are they punctual to there promoses Just In the payment of their debts and are such as are faulty in those respects timely Laboured with and sutubelly admonished.

11.

"Are there belonging to this meeting without certificates or are there come from other places appearing as friends who have not produced certificates?

12.

"Do you take due care regularly to deal with all offenders in the Spirit of meekness and wisdom without partiality or unnecessary delay in order where any continue Obstinate Judgment according to the nature of the case may be placed upon them in the authority of the truth?"

When the Clerk read these queries, it was the duty of members to report flagrant departures, whereupon a committee would be appointed to wait upon the delinquent, and call his attention to the fact that the Meeting had taken cognizance of his backsliding. Then if he paid no attention to frequent and helpful pleadings and arguments, and the charge was of sufficient importance, he was dis-owned or dropped from the Society of Friends, but dropped with deep regret.

There was also another curb. Ministers, male and female, were continually visiting families, giving "religious opportunities." They were liable to drop in at any time, whereupon the household would repair to the sitting or drawing room and hold a meeting with them. The visiting ministers would make kindly inquiries of the family, and in this way the members were in touch with old and young; and by a simple yet wonderful system kept their people good by watchful, prayerful care. The Friends were remarkable for traveling. If a minister had a desire to travel and visit

other Meetings in Europe or America, this was known as a "religious concern," and it was laid before the proper business meeting, and if the latter concurred, the Friend had liberty to visit any meeting at home or abroad; and was given a certificate to that end signed by the Clerk of the Meeting, man or woman. Few ministers could defray the expense of such a tour, and that "Friends may not be impeded or improperly burdened for want of requisite means to defray the expense of such a journey, funds of the Meeting are supplied."

Such ministers were continually going about, always entertained and always welcome guests. Such Friends as Eli and Sybil Jones, Elizabeth Comstock, Caroline Talbot and others made long journeys all over the country and abroad. The latter, and Elizabeth Comstock, I recall, not only preached at the local Meeting when visiting my grand parents, but visited all the jails, prisons, and public institutions, giving Bible lessons and holding various services. Then came the Quarterly Meeting, which drew a larger assembly, and as this was often held at Weare, New Hampshire, many Lynn Friends would drive in their private carriages over the road to this delightful country (if in summer), and all were welcome.

The guests were divided up on the fine old farms of the Weare Friends, where I recall a long country road of splendid farms on the hilltop, farms of hundreds of acres, all occupied by cousins, or by Friends more or less related. Three or four days would be spent at such a meeting. Miss Sarah Hacker gives an eloquent picture of the Quarterly Meeting procession to Weare and Newport, which as children we attended: "The New England Yearly Meeting of

Friends held in Newport in June, to be exact, in Quaker phraseology, the 7th day after the 2d 6th day in the 6th month, was the meeting place of Friends, not only of New England, but from all parts of the country, the New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore meetings being largely represented. The old Truro and Fillmore Hotels, and the Kay Street House received them, and later the Ocean House and Atlantic House, nearly opposite on the avenue, opened the season with the coming of the Friends in June, the usual custom of being entertained by Friends at their homes being impracticable on account of the vast number that went to the meeting. These were great days for the Friends, for while the older ones were attending meetings, and upholding the dignity of that most solid and substantial body, the younger members were taking horseback rides along the shore and having 'picnics' to the beautiful suburbs of Newport; and many of our fathers and mothers met there for the first time.

"The usual way of going to Newport in those days was by chaise or carriage, Friends coming from way down in Maine in this way. The little oval-top hair trunks were suspended from the cross-bar under the chaise, but for the carriage a portable rack was made, to be strapped to the back, on which the trunk was placed.

"The Quarterly Meetings held in Weare, New Hampshire, in October, perhaps gave more general pleasure to our Lynn Friends, for then they all started together, and the procession of chaises and carriages, with their little trunks, must have been a sight worth seeing. It is unfortunate that the pocket camera was unknown in those days, else we might have some most interesting snap shots. It was a Monday

morning, in the clear, crisp air of that beautiful season of the year, when the hillsides were aflame with the gorgeous coloring of our New England autumn that our party started, driving as far as Lowell, where they stopped for dinner. Word was always sent in advance to the different hotels on the way, so that every convenience and comfort that the place afforded was waiting for them. After dinner the party drove to Nashua, for supper and to spend the night. The next day, Tuesday, they had dinner at Fletcher Tavern, and then on to Weare that afternoon, where they 'put up' at the different Friends' houses, spending the night with one, taking dinner with another, supper with another, and the fried chickens, pumpkin pies and rye drop cakes, which were some of the delicacies served, were always looked forward to, and pleasantly remembered by those fortunate enough to taste them."

She thus describes the hospitable home of Nathan Breed, her grandfather, one of the wealthiest Quakers of Lynn, whose fine character and Washingtonian face is still remembered: "Preparations for this day had been going on for some time. You, as guests did not know it, but the family did, for bright and early Monday morning they were turned out of their rooms, to take up their abode in the attic for a week, and the seventeen sleeping rooms that the house contained, with the exception of those occupied by the servants, were put in order for the guests. This may seem rather hard on the family, but if you had seen the five cosy rooms that that big attic was turned into, you would beg, as did some of the guests, to be 'allowed to be considered one of the family!'

“In the yard a like transformation took place, as this Friend owned wood land, farm land, and salt marsh, which required all kinds of carts and implements to work. There were sheds scattered about for their accommodation. These were all emptied of their contents, and they, with the barn and hitching posts, made ready for use. The genius who presided over the household affairs for about forty years, was one of that fine type of New Hampshire women, strong mentally and physically, brusque in manner, but with the kindest heart in the world, equal to any emergency, and, with a previous training in a hotel, was able to assume all the care of the house, leaving the host and hostess free to entertain their guests.

“With well-trained servants under her and a number of helpers from outside, who always came at Quarterly Meeting time, the large number of guests were easily taken care of. To cook for all the guests two old-fashioned brick ovens, about four feet deep, were employed, which required a ‘slide’ or ‘oven shovel’ to take the things out, a range set in the side of the chimney, a modern cook stove and a set boiler, which would hold ten pairs of chickens at a time! After breakfast, while still at the table, the Bible was brought out, and the host read a chapter, as was the daily custom of Friends, after which a prayer was offered or remarks made.

“After the breakfast, the table was set for luncheon for the Friends who came from Salem, Danvers and the surrounding towns. Then began the preparation for the event of the day, the Quarterly Meeting dinner! and the long table, which seated twenty-four comfortably, was made to look its best. Dinner in those days was served in two

courses, the meat course and dessert, but what was wanting in those two courses was out of the reach of the Lynn markets. At each end of the table was a large piece of roast beef, and in the centre, a white halibut, covered with egg sauce, as pleasant to the eye as to the taste, while scattered along the table were chickens, lamb, ham, etc., and every vegetable one can think of. Opposite each piece was seated a good carver, and with the servants, assisted by the granddaughters of the house, the guests were easily and quickly served."

Next to the Quarterly came the Yearly Meeting, held in the author's time annually in Newport, the Friends taking possession of one of the big hotels and holding a meeting of protracted length.

The Lynn Meeting has always been an interesting one. Christopher Holder and John Copeland doubtless spoke here and at Salem, Hampton and other localities now known by other names in the eventful years of 1657. Sewell, the historian, refers to their visit at Salem. Unfortunately, records of the first meetings were not taken, and the first obtained at Salem are dated 1677, twenty years after the visit of Holder and Copeland. Records undoubtedly there were, but they were lost or mislaid. Two hundred and fifty-seven years is a short time in the history of the world, but an eternity in the history of man and his works.

The Salem Monthly Meeting was important, being made up of members from Lynn, Salem, Peabody, Saugus, Swampscot and formerly Boston. The first record of a Lynn Meeting, according to George Herbert, Clerk of the Meeting and historian of the Society, is as follows: "At our meeting of Friends held at the home of Thomas Maul

in Salem 28th day of ye 12th month, 16'. After naming the Friends present (ten in number), it reads thus: "Thomas Maul proposed to this meeting that it might be very convenient to have a meeting once a month, settled in Lynn for the ease of those Friends that were inhabettars there." This was granted and a Monthly Meeting was appointed at the home of Samuel Collins, which stood on Essex Street where the Ingalls School stood. This meeting has continued ever since and on the same day—the second fifth day of every month, or Thursday, though at times alternating with Salem and Boston.

In 1722 Richard Estes (d'Estes), a kinsman of the author's great great grandmother, Hannah Estes, and brother of Mathew Estes, gave the ground on Broad Street for a burial ground and site for a meeting, "in consideration of the love and good will he bore to the people of God called Quakers in Linn, to bury their dead in and erect a meeting-house for the worship of God."

In looking up the records of Friends the work of the genealogist is found difficult on account of the lack of grave-stones. In the early days this was considered a vanity, and in 1812 a minute issued by the Yearly Meeting "ordered that no Toune of grave stone be sett up or put over the graves of Friends burial grounds or rails." Not until about 1852 were gravestones used, and then not over fifteen inches in height. This was going to one extreme. Another is seen in the mortuary display, emphasizing grief, in nearly all countries.

In Lynn the "New Light" separation in 1822-3 occasioned a division even in the burial ground. One of the leaders was Mary Newhall. It was evidently a Unitarian move-

ment, and its leaders became Unitarians or joined the Hicksite movement in 1827. Thirty-five Friends were disowned in Lynn for joining the New Light movement.

William O. Newhall, Nathan and Mary Breed, Micajah Collins, Avis Keene, Samuel Boyce, Abigail C. Beede, Micajah M. Binford, William P. Pinkham, Joseph G. Smith, Benjamin H. Jones, Eliza Boyce, Moses Beede, John C. and Hannah Gove, Aaron and Rachael Bassett Holder, John H. Crossman, Abby Beede, Patience and Green Paige, Lydia Rich, Hannah Hawks are a few names which occur to me and faces I recall in the Lynn meeting. I have the marriage certificates of my great grandfather, Richard Holder, who married Mary Breed, and some of the signers to it at Lynn in 1784 were Henry Oliver, Samuel Collins, Elizabeth Collins, Samuel Newhall, Ebenezer Breed, Micajah Collins, Estes Newhall, Daniel Newhall, Jedediah Purington, Joseph Bassett, John Pope, Patience Hawks, Richard Pratt, Jr., Moses Alley, Nathan Breed 3rd, Isaac Bassett, Rebecca Alley, Sarah Breed, Rebeka Phillips, Lydia Newhall, Hexia Breed, Content Alley, Elizabeth Bassett, James Breed, Jr., Johnathan Phillips, Jr., Richard Holder, Mary (Breed) Holder, Isaiah Breed, Hannah Breed, Lois Alley, Theodate (Holder) Pope (daughter of Daniel Holder, wife of Folger Pope), Nehemiah Johnson, Kergia Johnson, Pharoah Newhall, Benjamin Alley, Patience Silsbe, John Pratt and Nathan Breed.

These were among the leading Friends of Lynn in 1784, and many were related. The names of the signers on the certificate (which I also have) of my great great grandfather, Isaac Breed, who married Hannah Estes (d'Estes), in Lynn in 1748, twenty-eight years before the Revolution,

are as follows. Some were old people, and they doubtless had listened to the preaching of Christopher Holder, John Copeland, Fox, Penn and other early Friends: John Tyler, James Purington, Joseph Bassett, Humphrey Devereau, Ezekiel Allen, Ebenezer Pope, Nathan Breed, Ebenezer Breed, Samuel Breed, John Bassett, Jr., Samuel Osborn, William Bassett, Zaccheus Collins, Isasah Breed, Hannah Breed, Hannah Estes, Jabez Breed (my fifth great grandfather), Nathan Breed, Jr., Samuel Breed, Amos Breed, William Estes, Mary Breed, Anna Breed and Mary Estes.

These were among the prominent Friends of Lynn during the reign of George II., or the time of the great Wesleyan Revival and rise of Methodism, 1727 to 1760, when King George III. succeeded to the throne. These wedding certificates, as all others of the Friends, due to the large number of signatures, are of great historical value as showing not only signatures of noted men or women of the era, but those who lived there at that time. These particular certificates, bearing the names of many important heads of colonial families, have been given by me to the Holder Memorial of Clinton, Massachusetts, presented to the Clinton, Massachusetts, Historical Society by Francis T. Holder, of Yonkers, New York.

The Friends of Boston "set up" a meeting in 1803, which was objected to by the Friends Meeting of Lynn. In the Lynn records of 1803, First Month, appears the following: "The subject relating to Friends in Boston being again before this Meeting, and as it appears by information given this meeting that Friends there are in the practice of holding and have set up and do hold a Meeting, we do therefore appoint Richard Holder (the author's great grandfather) to

labor with these Friends who do thus contrary to the advice of the Monthly Meeting, set up and hold said meetings, etc.”

Many meeting-houses would have been built in the early days, but they would, undoubtedly, have been demolished by the authorities; hence Friends met in private houses in many places previous to the “extinction of the Colonial charter in 1691-2 and the substitution of the provincial charter which carried with it Sir. William Phipps of Maine as governor.

While Boston had no meeting-house until 1803, when Edward Wanton, a king's officer, was converted to Quakerism, at the hanging of Mary Dyer, and put away his sword in so dramatic a manner, he invited Friends to meet at his House on Brattle Street, near the Quincy House in Boston. He later moved to Scituate and became the “ancestor of many Quaker governors” mentioned elsewhere, 1732-1775. Early in the eighteenth century the Boston Friends demonstrated satisfactorily to the Yearly Meeting that they needed a meeting, and a small brick building was the result. This was followed by one in Congress Street. In these old buildings there were no stoves. The old South Church, according to Augustin Jones, was not heated until 1783, when peace came with the mother country, and even then there was a poetic protest:

“Extinct the sacred fire of love
Our zeal grown cold and ded
In house of God we fix a stove
To warm us in their stead.”

When Nicholas Upsall, the proprietor of the "Red Lion Inn" of Boston, famous for his defence of Ann Austin and Mary Fisher, died, he left his estate to the Friends, and the various articles and the proceeds of same went to the meeting-house in Brattle Street, and some, according to Augustin Jones, have been handed down through all the Boston Meetings, Congress Street, Milton Place, and the present meeting-house at Roxbury. The first or Brattle Street meeting-house was built from contributions sent from all over the colonies and even from far Barbados. The second meeting-house in Boston stood on a lot 55x160 feet, on Leverett's Lane, or Quaker Lane or Congress Street. It was of brick with a burying-ground behind it. This meeting-house was destroyed in the fire of 1760. One of its trustees was Samuel Collins of Lynn.

The Revolution was disastrous to the Quakers in Boston. Friends while they had been aided by the Penn colony migrated West and South. At last but one old Friend, Ebenezer Pope, remained, who sat, silent and alone, in the weekly and first-day meetings. Finally there was no one and the Boston meetings were given up until 1803, when a few Friends attempted to renew the ancient glories of Quakerdom and were visited by the wrath of the Yearly Meeting in the person of Richard Holder, who explained to the Boston Friends that there was strength in numbers and advised them to go to Lynn to attend meeting.

Sandwich, where Holder and Copeland preached the first sermons of Friends in America, has a Monthly Meeting, which dates back from 1658. This, it is believed, is the oldest in America. Duxbury (to quote Augustin Jones, a distinguished authority on Friends) had one in 1660.

CHAPTER XXVII

WAYS AND CUSTOMS OF FRIENDS.

The Friends made a careful record of the spoilations or suffering, "the spoiling of their goods for the answer of a good conscience and the testimony of Jesus Christ." Thus Thomas Harris, in 1696, for refusing to pay rate to the priest, Jeremiah Shepard, was imprisoned a month. William Bassett's cow was seized in 1697 because the Quaker would not drill as a soldier. Then follows a long list of articles seized by the "priest," ranging from silver plates to a pair of bellows. The Priest was the Puritan rector of the First church, which stood on the Common, known as the "Old Tunnel Meeting-House," and in later years the First Congregational church, on Vine and North Common Street.

Some of the author's Quaker kinsmen in Lynn were slave owners. Joseph Gaskill released his slaves in 1775, and in 1776 John Bassett did the same. The movement to release slaves began in Lynn in 1772, though Fox, Holder, Copeland, Edmundson and others preached against it a century previous. Many Lynn men and women were anti-slavery workers down to 1860. The first Quaker schools were suggested in 1715, and the records show that Quakers had a school set apart for their children in 1777. The Friends were allowed a part of the town school funds up to 1821. In 1839 there were 459 members of the Friends meeting in Lynn, and except that of Nantucket it was the largest meeting in New England. In 1678 a meeting-house was built on Wolf Hill, opposite the home of Aaron Holder

on Washington Square. A second meeting-house was built in 1723 near the burying ground on Broad Street. This was used for ninety-three years, or until 1816, when the present house was erected by the author's kinsman, Richard Estes.

Occasionally some author or philosopher with the artistic temperament writes an article or sermon on the idyllic possibilities of the simple life. The subject is treated as something much to be desired, a modern suggestion, but a dream, only to be attained in the vague and distant future.

If these writers of rhapsodies could have lived in Quaker homes in the latter part of the 19th century, in any Quaker centre, as Lynn, New Bedford or Philadelphia to-day they would have seen the simple life as it was lived. They would have seen the ideal lives of the Quakers, though I do not wish to say that every Quaker home was ideal or perfect. But the majority of those I have known, were most attractive from this standpoint. There was a simplicity, a gentleness, a true refinement that comes from inborn culture, that had set its stamp on many of these people and their homes.

There was nothing eccentric or grotesque about this. They merely believed in the simple life, , refused to change fashions or indulge in the vagaries of fashion, and the result of their methods of living, was a type of character at once fresh, sweet, gentle, and characteristic of Quaker homes. They saw no evil; they spoke no evil; they heard no evil. Their religious life was lived every hour; they earnestly endeavored to follow the maxims and example of Christ, but their religion was not a burden. Their lives were bright, cheery and full of "sweetness and light" Neal Mathew Arnold tells us of.

It will be seen that with the first day, fourth-day preparative, Monthly, Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, the Queries, the constant supervision of visiting ministers, and every member a self-appointed guardian, obliged by custom to report infractions of the moral law, that here was an extraordinarily perfect system for social purity, producing a people whose daily lives were exemplary to a marked degree, and presenting a study of striking interest and value. In a word, the Quakers, under the guidance of George Fox, had evolved a marvelous system of life, having for its essence the elimination of evil in a community and the promotion of piety.

The marriage ceremony of Friends, while simple, was an ordeal far ahead of a modern church wedding. An alliance between improper persons was not likely to occur. When parents concurred the marriage was announced, and the couple married themselves, in the presence of such a host of witnesses that it became a most conspicuous and public affair. A month previous to the marriage the announcement of intention was "read up in meeting," that is, reported officially to the Monthly Meeting, whereupon there was an amount of red tape more or less demoralizing. The groom-to-be appeared before the woman's meeting with a friend appointed for the purpose, and the announcement was made, that with divine permission and the approbation of Friends he proposed to marry. Now two women Friends were appointed by a "minute" to investigate the would-be bride, and if they found that her family had no objection, and that the course was clear, they waited on the men's business meeting, and reported favorably. Then two men Friends, appointed by the men's meeting, made inquiries regarding

the would-be groom, and if his "clearness of others is proven," it was reported to the first business meeting, and they were allowed to marry. Two Friends of each sex were appointed to see that "good order was preserved."

The day was selected, not a regular meeting day, and the bride and groom took their seats facing the meeting or audience. After a short silence they rose; the groom took the bride by the hand, and recited, "In the presence of the Lord, and this assembly, I take thee, ——— to be my wife, promising with divine assistance to be unto thee a faithful and affectionate husband till death do separate us." Then the bride promised the same. Then there was a silence, or possibly a prayer or preaching, and the meeting broke up, as it always does, by the leading man minister reaching over and shaking hands with the nearest woman minister.

Then the long marriage certificate was brought out, and was signed by all the relatives and a goodly part of the congregation. So general was this that the lists of names on these voluminous papers have been of great value in locating the residents of certain towns at certain times.

The unbounded hospitality of these Friends, and the "groaning tables" have become a proverb. For weeks the good housewives had been preparing for Quarterly Meeting, and the cakes, pies of all kinds, and array of food was an extraordinary testimony to their good living. John Adams has left a description of these simple feasts" in Philadelphia; the same was true of Lynn in the old days, though in the sixties strict temperance was the order of the day. Adams says: "It was a Quaker hostess who pressed upon him at one meal, ducks, ham, chickens, beef, pig, tarts, creams, custards, jellies, fools, trifles, floating island,

beer, porter, punch, and wine, and at another Quaker house he wrote he drank Madeira at a great rate and found no inconvenience. About this time Henry Qansey, an English traveller, confesses he was "filled with awe and veneration when permitted to breakfast with President Washington, but the two small plates of sliced tongue, dry toast, bread and butter" carried a painful sense of incompleteness to his hearty English appetite."

The "peculiarities" of the Friends have always caught the public eye more than their religion, which differs but little from that of any Christian denomination.

The Quaker man's costume, up to within a few years, strange as it may have appeared, was not so remarkable as that of English bishops or even clergymen today. The portrait of William Penn might well pass for that of an Episcopal bishop.

Their avoidance of certain words and the use of others occasioned remark among strangers. It is said that a young Friend who was very fond of reciting poetry, in reading the well known lines of Burns, said:

"My love's like a red, red rose
That's newly blown in sixth month."

a story which I can readily believe, as I have heard a young Friend use the term "a fourth-month dunce," instead of an April fool. In New England in the sixties, the plain language was used by young and old, but a change was coming, as only old Friends, or elderly people used the very plain language. Thus a minister would say, "How art thou, Thomas?" but if Thomas (a young man) was addressing the minister, he would say "Good morning, Benjamin Jones, how does thee do?" To which the reply would be, "Very

well, I thank thee," or "Art thou well, Thomas?" "Quite well, thank thee." In a word, the young people of New England did not use the word "thou," but those from Philadelphia and elders did; and the young women from the latter place, as a rule, dressed in the plain bonnets, which were beginning to disappear in New England. It is told of a Philadelphia hack driver, who seeing two Friends leave the train, ran up, and thinking to secure their patronage if he pretended to be a Friend, cried out, "This way, Friends, where is thou's baggage?"

It is a mistake to suppose that the primitive Quaker costumes of the Joseph John Gurney era have entirely disappeared, though in London, in 1910, I saw but one woman garbed this way in the Westminster meeting, where the Friends are completely modernized. In this and other respects, and in the families of English Quakers I observed the appointments were those of persons of wealth and fashion. In small towns and small meetings the old costumes can often be seen. Philadelphia is still the center of Quaker conservative interest, as it has always been, and the primitive costumes still hold among some of the elder Friends and some young ones, also. The clerk who waited on me in a Friends' bookstore in Philadelphia in 1909, wore a straight collar and drab Quaker coat of the cut of fifty years ago. In the West the old-fashioned Quaker bonnets can still be seen, and in Pasadena, California, there is a meeting which to-day, 1913, has an exceedingly primitive appearance, the men often keeping on their hats during the meeting and numbers of elderly women Friends wearing the Gurneyite or Wilburite bonnet. While the Quaker bonnets made of pasteboard bent into a scoop, and covered with

satin, were all of a similar type, there was a wide range from the straight shape of the English to the up-country Wilburite and the Gurney bonnet, with the crown tipped up slightly to conform to the cap seen in the famous picture of Elizabeth Fry. All the ladies of my family, the grandparents on both sides, dressed in the Elizabeth Fry fashion, and the next generation, wore drawn bonnets as late as 1866.

In their shoes and footwear the Quakers were indulgent and had the best. I have an overshoe used by my great great grandmother, Content Breed, a Quaker minister. It is a "rubber" or "golosh" of a century ago. The sole is of leather, seven inches long. The upper portion is open over the toe, the portion that laps over being covered with a rich brocade of gold and green, the interior being built up, suggestive of very high instep and certainly not Quakerish high heels. Many such overshoes can be seen in the Museum of the Salem Institute, and some in the Nantucket Museum.

At the Friends School, Providence, in 1867-8, the fair student members of the institution were not allowed to wear jewelry or colors, and musical instruments were tabooed, the only one I remember being an accordion, which a German boy concealed in a tree in the grove and played to us surreptitiously. A few years later pianos were introduced, and the Quakers who had been music starved, and deprived of the blue of the heavens, the green of grass, and the colors of the flowers, suddenly came into their own.

The strange indulgence in these non-essentials by Friends, the deprivation of color, music, art, and gaiety of any kind might, in the estimation of psychologists, have resulted in a hardening or narrowing of the character; but this was not

the case. If the Quaker had any characteristic more pronounced than another, it was a remarkable sweetness and gentleness, combined with spirituality and high cultivation. The training of a young Quaker would to-day seem to have a tendency to check the development of the imaginative or artistic qualities; but if the child's records could be examined it would be found that if actual Quakers did not make great artists, musicians, scientists, in numbers proportionate to their numerical strength, their immediate offspring did, and in goodly proportion to their numbers. I believe it will be shown that the Quakers have produced their share of distinguished figures in the uplift of the world. Their mental capacity has not been atrophied in the extraordinary experiment of a return to the "simple life" as expressed by the life of Jesus Christ.

There have been a number of separations among the Friends, and they were generally of a destructive nature:—the Keith, Hicksite, Wilburite, Gurney, Otis, King movements resulted in separations. Another separation occurred during the anti-slavery agitation in Indiana in 1842. The conservative meeting declaring that Jacob Grave, William Locke and Charles Osborn, leaders in the anti-slavery movement, were objectionable. Sides were taken, and for fourteen years there was a separation, or until 1856. Another separation came in Plainfield, Indiana, in 1877, over the introduction of revivals and night meetings.

There was also a separation in Iowa over the question of the desirability of a "mourner's bench,"—a very successful adjunct in Western and Southern Methodist churches. Opinions differed; sides were taken, and in 1877 there was

a separation. All these differences appear to have been relics of the many non-essentials which agitated the sect in the early days.

In 1860 the mere mention of a revival or night meeting would have thrown the dignified New England Friends into a panic, and one can hardly forecast the result. But a "mourner's bench" was a specter that could only be thought of as an emanation of contumelious fiction.

In the early days there was a very evident difference between the Eastern and Western Friends. The Eastern Friend was often a man of elegant appearance, and the ministers who sat on the high seat in Lynn, New Bedford, Providence, New York and Philadelphia were well attired in broadcloth of the best. Into such an atmosphere of culture, refinement and elegance (I dislike to use the word elegance, but there is no other to express it) the plain Western farmer Quaker minister often came, with breezy, Western ways, and a manner suggestive of the mourner's bench and revival methods. Such men were always received with perfect courtesy, but their manners and methods were not entirely acceptable. This difference of manner was noticed by the English Friends, who were more worldly, and their men often marked for their innate culture and refinement.

Despite the supposed solemnity of meetings, Friends have a strong sense of humor. In the Lynn meeting a certain Friend arose and remarked, "I am satisfied," and sat down. As a child, I often heard these brief soliloquies. Rarely over three or four words were used, and I regret to say that it appealed to the young Friends, who were not very different from the average youth. Once a visiting Friend sat in silence for an hour, then rose, saying, "Enough has been said," shook hands and dismissed the meeting.

Perhaps the strangest text is mentioned by Allen Jay in his biography. He says, "This dear Friend rose with great solemnity and broke the silence by saying, 'Pork is worth seven dollars per hundred,' and preached a long and searching sermon," which, doubtless, had its application, as pork was so low in the market that the farmers were in despair.

For many years there was a large contingent of Friends at Weare, New Hampshire, many being kinsmen of the author. The first settlers were Johnathan Dow and Elijah Purington, 1766. They had a commodious meeting-house about the time of the Revolution, and later two. At one of these meetings, after a long silence, a young, delicate and beautiful woman rose, and in a clear and decided tone said, "Let every one mind his own proper business," then sat down. This sermon is still remembered in Weare, and doubtless carried its message much further than if it had been but the text to a long and eloquent discourse. On another occasion an itinerant speaker began to preach, and as an hour and a half passed, and he evidently could not stop, a kinsman of the author, Friend Gove, a descendant of Edward Gove, who was in the Tower of London with William Penn, noted for his wit, rose and said with great gravity, "Blessed are the feet of a good man who doth good tidings bring, but when he hath done his errand he ought to know enough to sit down." The stranger sat down.

In the same meeting a simple-minded Friend was much addicted to dry and pointless sermons, though he had a habit of claiming that what he said was due to the "Inner Light." On one occasion, after a melancholy hour of preaching from this Friend an acidulous neighbor rose and said, "If God calls men to preach is it not strange that He

does not give them something to say?" and sat down. Doubtless many of the Friends present, who had been bored spiritually for years, rose and remarked, "I concur with this Friend."

The simple and dignified marriage ceremony of Friends has been described elsewhere. But Quakers are but human, and once a very young and modest Friend rose in the Weare Meeting to speak the formula. He entirely forgot the words he had been committing to memory for a week or more, and glanced wildly about for aid. His eyes finally rested on the demure bride, and to the amazement of the audience, he ejaculated faintly, "I love Sally," and sat down. The bride then rose and repeated the correct formula and they became man and wife by the will of the indulgent congregation. "I love Sally," was to the point and eminently satisfactory.

In 1835 John Warren, a Friend from Maine, attended the London Yearly Meeting. After a silence he rose and said, that "a few words had much impressed his mind which he believed he ought to express at that time." The meeting listened expectantly, as he was a man of wide experience; but to the amazement of the English Friends he remarked, "when I have nothing to say, I say nothing," and sat down. A peculiarity of many ministers was an extraordinary facial expression which preceded the prayer, exhortation or sermon. This made a profound impression on my youthful mind, as it was my grandmother's custom to rebuke me for various lapses during the service by calling my attention to the agonized expression on "Benjamin's face," the inference being that it was produced by my conduct. In later years I learned that these symptoms were but premonitions

of the forthcoming discourse. This facial contortion was mentioned by Samuel Alexander of England in describing Charles Osbourne of North Carolina and John Wilbur of Rhode Island: "I have never forgotten their appearance as they walked into the meeting, two tall men Friends with unusually broad-brimmed drab beaver hats, long drab coats almost to their heels, and grave faces bearing *traces of mental feelings which we understand as 'exercises'* only wanting the opportunity for vent."

Colored Friends were rare in the North. I have never seen but one or two. A white Friend was trying to learn the circumstances of a poor colored man, asking him some leading questions, when he replied, "Some days, brother, I gets ten cents, an' I lives down to it; some days I makes four bits an' I lives up to it—but I lives right along jes' the same."

The reminiscences of American Friends in the Journal of the Friends Historical Society (English) are very interesting, showing that the English noted the peculiarities of the Western American ministers; good men, but not burdened with the social amenities and presenting a strong contrast to the Joseph John Gurney or Stephen Grellett type. Samuel Alexander's critical notes refer to a number of Friends: William Flanner, Ohio; Jonathan Taylor, Pennsylvania; Christopher Healey, Rhode Island; Stephen Grellett, Elisha Bates, Ohio; Almy Jenkins, Rhode Island; Dougan and Asenath Clark, Lindley Murray Hoag, Sarah Emlen, Susan Howland, James Jones, Thomas Arnett, John and Elizabeth Meader, Hannah Rhodes, and Eli and Sybil Jones. Nearly all of these ministers made strong and lasting impressions on their English auditors. Of Sarah Emlen, Alex-

ander says: "I felt I was nearer heaven than I had ever been before, as she poured out her soul in a prayer, the solemn, and indeed awfully absorbing power attending which, cannot be described in any human soul."

The Friends established a number of schools and colleges for the education of their own members, and others which have been notable additions to the system of education of the country. The founder of Brown University and its first President, Moses Brown, the Quaker philanthropist, an eminent and distinguished citizen of Rhode Island, founded the famous Friends School of Providence. The beginning of the institution can be traced back to the school of Isaac Lawton of Portsmouth, Rhode Island, 1784. This was carried on for four years, then was discontinued until 1819, when it was re-opened as the Friends School of Providence, and is still a flourishing institution under the title of the "Moses Brown School." Moses Brown was its most devoted patron, aiding it financially and in gifts of land, while his son, Obadiah Brown, left it one hundred thousand dollars. Whittier wrote of it:

"Not vainly the gift its founder has made,
Not prayerless the stones of its corners were laid,
The blessing of Him whom in secret they sought
Has owned the good work the fathers have wrought."

In the school there is an excellent portrait of the poet, presented by Charles F. Coffin of Lynn, one of its trustees. There is hardly an old colonial Quaker family of New England dating back to the Puritan days but had some member at some time in this school, and some sterling men and women have been sent out into the world from it. How

this was carried out in families is illustrated in my own, where my grandfather and grandmother, father and mother, and various aunts, cousins and distant relatives all attended the school. In time I was sent there, the school then being in charge of the late Albert Smiley, who had been an instructor at Haverford and who held the office for nineteen years. He was a trustee of Bryn Mawr College, Brown University, Pomona College and President of the Board of Trustees of the State Normal School at New Paltz, New York. Albert Smiley was active in many lines of philanthropic work, and his business ability has been displayed in the careful carrying out of an extraordinary hotel project at Lake Mohonk, New York. Public interest was aroused in this work by the establishment here of what Albert Smiley called the Mohonk Conference, devoted to the cause of the Indians, and International Arbitration. For over twenty years these conferences have continued, the delegates among the distinguished men and women of the nation numbering several hundred annually, the guests of the founder. Over twenty thousand delegates have assembled here to discuss the outlook for the negro, the Indian and for the peace which George Fox advocated in 1650. Many well known Americans have been presiding officers in the twenty-seven years of the conferences, among them Clinton B. Fisk, M. E. Gates, Philip C. Garrett, S. J. Barrows, John D. Long, Senator Edmunds, C. J. Bonaparte, Lyman Abbott, A. S. Draper and Elmer E. Brown. The liberal nature of the Institution can be understood by a remark of S. J. Barrows:—"It struck me as interesting that Luther's hymn was being played by a Catholic priest in a Quaker house, and that a Jew had written the music."

Albert Smiley owned a large estate in Redlands, California, where his philanthropic activities have been noticeable. This is Smiley Heights, a natural park in a winter garden of flowers, facing the snow-clad Sierras.

The school at Providence was a boarding school for boys and girls, and a preparative school under the general care of a committee of Friends, among whom were Dr. Tobey, Charls F. Coffin, and members of the Chase, Bassett, Howland, Bukin, Buffum and other families. One of the treasurers of the Providence School was Allen Jay, a well known Western Friend, who gave an interesting illustration of Quaker conscience in accepting the position. He evidently did not desire to leave the field in which he was engaged, but he says in his autobiography, "This offer (made by Albert Smiley) after some consideration my wife and I felt it right to accept, believing that the time had come to leave the Yearly Meeting that was dear to us, for a fear rested upon my mind that Friends paid too much attention to my judgment. In other words, I was having more influence in the Yearly Meeting than was best for any one man to exercise for his own good, or for the good of the church." It is evident that Allen Jay would not have made a successful Caesar.

In 1830 a few Friends of New York and Philadelphia, recognizing the demand for Higher Education, founded Haverford College. The dominant note in the minds of the founders was "to combine sound and liberal instruction in literature and science with a religious care over the morals and manners, thus affording to the youth of our Society an opportunity of acquiring an education equal in all respects to that which can be obtained at colleges."

The college was begun in Haverford, Delaware county, Pennsylvania, about nine miles west from the center of Philadelphia, and gradually, through the beneficence of Friends, assumed its present condition as one of the most influential and important colleges in America. In the selection of the site its managers said: "We wished to procure a farm in a neighborhood of unquestionable salubrity—within a short distance of Friends' meeting, of easy access from this city at all seasons of the year * * * * * recommended by the beauty of the scenery and a retired situation." At present the grounds consist of two hundred and twenty-five acres, valued at over one and a half million dollars, and its destiny being to become an intimate part of Philadelphia in the future, it will, in time, be one of the most valuable properties in the state. The grounds are very beautiful, reminding one of the great English estates, while the many buildings display taste, dignity and repose, suggestive of high culture.

The aims of the college "have been gradually developing, and its function is becoming more and more clear—"to encourage the growth, among a limited number of young men, of vigorous bodies, scholarly minds, strong characters, and a real religious experience."

It is this dominant idea that has given Haverford its great influence and for which President Sharpless and his colleagues are to be congratulated. While the student body is large, the essential idea has been to retain the advantages of a small college, and as the bounties of Friends have enabled the college to maintain a very large faculty in proportion to its size, it is admirably arranged to produce the

results which come from the close association between teacher and pupil.

While Haverford College is essentially a Friends institution, it is in effect undenominational, with a broad and progressive spirit. To quote: "In accordance with the modern ideas of religious and moral education, the students enjoy ample liberty, safe-guarded by the wholesome physical life, by the traditions of the College, and by the intimate association with the professors and fellow-students. The deep religious spirit bequeathed by the Quaker founders has been carefully cherished, and high ideals of life and conduct are maintained, but in the admission of students and in the appointment of instructors there are no denominational distinction."

In the Corporation and Board of Managers are many notable names, as T. Wistar Brown, J. S. Stokes, Asa S. Wing, T. Wistar Brown, Charles J. Rhodes. The president is the distinguished Friend and author, Dr. Isaac Sharpless.

Swarthmore College, one of the influential and strong colleges of America, was founded by the followers of Elias Hicks and opened to the public in 1869 at Swarthmore, Pennsylvania. Under the ripe scholarship of Joseph Swain, its president, it has made itself felt among the first institutions of the kind in this country. It stands on a fine campus of over two hundred acres by which runs the attractive gorge of Crum Creek. The farm of Benjamin West, who painted the famous picture of Penn's treaty, is included in the grounds. The college includes some fine buildings, Parrish Hall, Science Hall, two gymnasiums, Wharton Hall and the Chemical Building.

Swarthmore has two Fellowships and seventeen Scholar-

ships, and its productive funds amount to over one million dollars. Swarthmore is famed for its remarkable Friends' Historical Library, one of, if not the most valuable libraries of the kind in America. It has a general library of 32,000 volumes.

Swarthmore was the second co-educational college east of the Alleghanies. It is well-equipped, particularly in the departments of science and engineering.

While Bryn Mawr is not a Quaker or even a denominational college, it received, to a large extent, its initial inspiration from the Friends, or descendants of Friends, who have had a militant influence in its assumption under President Thomas of a predominating influence for high culture and intellectual attainment among women's colleges in America. In visiting Bryn Mawr I was continually impressed with the thought that I was in England. The lay of the land, the splendid vistas of highly cultivated woodland, and above all the fine English Renaissance style of architecture which has been carried out, suggestive of culture, refinement and learning in its broadest sense, and of Oxford and Cambridge.

Bryn Mawr was founded on the donation of a Friend, and its distinguished president is a descendant of Friends, and the fine morale, the dignity that imposes itself upon one we can well imagine is the spirit of the best thought of the Friends. Bryn Mawr is not a denominational college, and its strong and virile influence for the highest standards is the result.

In North Carolina the Friends founded Guilford College, that has had a useful career, and there is an excellent college of Friends in the town of Whittier, California, in charge of

Dr. Coffin, one of the distinguished educators among Friends.

Aside from Guilford College, with its property valued at two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, the Friends in North Carolina have the Belvedere Academy in Eastern Quarter, established in 1827, Woodland Academy in Wayne County. In 1868 there were forty Monthly Meeting schools with an enrollment of two thousand five hundred and eighty-eight students. There is also a Friends University of wide influence at Wichita, Kansas.

The old Friends meeting-houses in America are of great historic interest. The Lynn, Massachusetts, meeting is typical, though not of great age. The old Wing house in Sandwich, where the first meeting was held in America, is said to be still standing, and a movement is on foot to have "Christopher Holder's Hollow," where the first meetings were held by Holder and Copeland, set apart as a park *in memoriam*. Fine old meeting-houses are to be seen in Salem, Providence, New Bedford and many New England towns. It is well for the bustling materialistic man of the twentieth century to stop for an hour, and step into a Philadelphia meeting, and rest his soul in peace, as here it can be found, untainted, untarnished by the touch of time.

If one wishes to study the real Friends of to-day, Philadelphia must be the hiatus, and the history of the Friends of this region, the example they have set, and are still setting, is worthy of emulation; showing that the work of George Fox and his followers is still to the fore in the city of William Penn. The Friends here have a perfect organization. Schools for both sexes, papers, publishing houses, libraries of great value, the Friends Historical Society, and

an aristocracy without knowing it. There is hardly an old family of prominence in Philadelphia but has Quaker connection, and is proud of it, and the names of Biddle, Floyd, Logan, Kite, Morris, Thomas, Vaux, and others, mark a definite meaning in the country at large.

In 1850 the Friends were strong in Barton, Lancaster and Berlin, Massachusetts, and vicinity, especially about Uxbridge, where still stands the old brick meeting-house erected one hundred and thirty-two years ago, in 1770. The committee, composed of Adam Harkness, William Buffum and David Speare, reported that it would cost about one thousand dollars. Up to 1783 this meeting belonged to Southfield, when with Leicester, Northbridge and Richmond, New Hampshire, it became known as the Uxbridge Monthly Meeting, and at one time included Woonsocket, Pomfret, and Connecticut, Meeting. Scores of distinguished Quaker preachers met in the historic old meeting-house. Here some of the ancestors of ex-President Taft worshipped. Uxbridge was a stronghold of the Bassetts, Aldriches and Earles, descendants of the original Friends. The approved ministers of the meeting were Daniel Aldrich, Richard Mowry, Job Scott, Israel Sabin, Royal Southwick, Daniel Clapp, Timothy K. Earle, John B. Daniels and Salome C. Wheeler.

In 1904 the Philadelphia Friends celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of the building of the Arch Street meeting house; a notable event, as in this old and honored building the famous Friends of the world have preached during the last momentous century. During this time profound and fundamental changes have taken place:—unions, dynasties, sects and denominations, kingdoms and governments have risen and passed away, modern invention has changed everything.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE QUAKERS IN LITERATURE.

If the Quakers have not produced a great genius in literature, they have accomplished much in the field of literary endeavor. So conscientious were they, so fearful of being considered vain or guilty of paying attention to things not worthy, that they often went to the other extreme. This is shown in many ways. Friends were advised to read only such books as were considered acceptable; hence the library of the average Friends of the 18th-19th centuries, living in the country particularly, would be a prototype of all. There would be all the available Friends' books, as Bess, Gough, Sewel's Translation, Fox's Journal, and as many of the old books as they could afford, among which "Piety Promoted" was nearly always included, also "The Martyrs." The "Friends Review" was the weekly medium, and gave, briefly, the history of the day among Friends.

The library of the Quaker in large towns, as Lynn, New Bedford or the great cities, was another matter. That of my father was rich in the classics and perfectly equipped with all the poetical and important works of the day. In fact, the library of the well-educated Quaker was that of any gentleman of high culture and education.

The Quakers were so impregnated with piety, and the continual attention to the promotion of piety among themselves and their brethren, and the world at large, that it cropped out at all times. I doubt if a Quaker letter was ever written that was not a sermon. I have seen many which emanated in New England between 1850 and 1900,

and they were, especially the older ones, filled with admonitions, pocket sermons, admirable in their way, but extraordinary as showing how the business or social letter was invariably made the medium for spiritual advice and admonition.

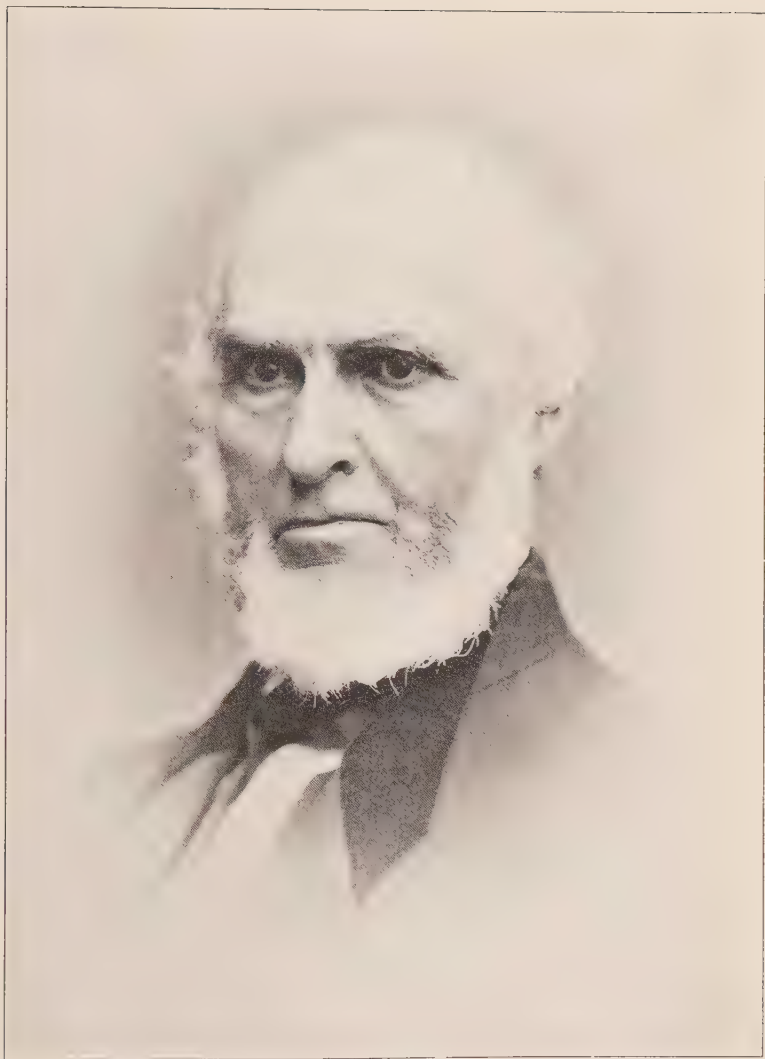
It will be noticed that only in modern times have the graves of Quakers been marked. In the early days a monument, or a gravestone, or an inscription, was considered a vanity, and so valuable historical links have been lost. Theoretically, the Quaker idea was right, as nothing can be more gruesome, more of a reflection upon the culture of a people than the extreme exhibition of grief in the graveyards of all countries, whether it is the extraordinary surface tombs of New Orleans, the average modern cemetery, the picture galleries of Mentone graveyards, or the remarkable marble exhibit at Campo Santo, Genoa.

A wonderful contrast to these is the graveyard of Jordons, or at Frenchay, where lie many of the old Friends. I have referred to this, as this fear of being led into false pride had a bearing upon the literature of Friends. Many a Quaker flower of literature was "born to blush unseen and waste its sweetness on the desert air." Quakerism was not designed to cultivate and feed the imagination; it served to repress it. A remarkable instance of this was seen in my family, in my grandmother, Rachael Bassett Holder, a type of the strictest and most conservative of Friends, who for years sat on the "high seat" of the Lynn meeting. A more saint-like or conscientious person it would be difficult to imagine, yet she had so strong a desire to write verse that, apparently, she could not resist, and her friend, John G. Whittier, said, had she been able to give rein to the impulse, she would have become a more than remarkable writer in prose and verse. She

wrote semi-secretly, and destroyed most of her work; but few poems remained at her death to show the latent promise and tell the story of literary endeavor struggling with a false idea of the vanities of the world.

John G. Whittier, the leading literary light among the Quakers in America, possessed this feeling to a certain degree; at least he was very loath to speak of his literary work. Whittier will rank as the greatest Quaker poet, and his work has had a beneficent influence on the literature of the world of his time. Whittier took many of his subjects from the early history of the Quakers, calling attention to the ills and misfortunes of the people, and thus serving to correct abuses in laws and customs. Few poets have been more beloved than Whittier. He spent many of his summers in Hampton, an old stronghold of the Quakers and of Edward Gove, who was sent to the Tower; but such was the curiosity of the public to see him that it was doubtless often a severe strain on his fund of good nature and health. These visitors he called "Pilgrims." One, a woman, insisted upon reading to him some of his own verses,—a species of martyrdom he especially disliked. She completed the entertainment by asking for a lock of his hair. This was too much for the gentle poet, who, as he opened the door, said, still smiling, "Madam, I should think thee could see that I have no locks to spare." Whittier died in the old Gove homestead, at Hampton Falls, of the author's kinswoman, Sarah A. Gove.

In modern times the Quakers or descendants of Quakers have produced many prominent men in literature. Abraham Lincoln was a descendant of English Quakers. In American science, Edward Cope, the distinguished paleontologist and



JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER



ALBERT K. SMILEY
Of the Mohonk Conference

writer, was a Quaker. Joseph Bassett Holder of Lynn and New York was author and scientist, the first curator of Zoölogy of the American Museum of Natural History, and author of many papers and books. In Philadelphia many writers can be found, either Friends or descendants of Friends, showing that the spark of literature has not been held in entire abeyance.

For a sect or a people who were not given to literary pursuits, the early Quakers produced a remarkable assortment of books and pamphlets, all of which are enumerated in the pondrous tome of Smith's Bibliography. In Devonshire House, London, the headquarters of English Friends, an extraordinary collection of these ancient books has been added, due to the interest of Mr. Norman Penny, Isaac Sharp and others. This library cannot be examined without giving the impression that the early Friends in proportion to their numbers, were prolific writers and not backward in replying to their enemies in vigorous terms.

In the present volume an illustration of these ancient papers and pamphlets, by Christopher Holder, has been given, as being very rare; there is but a single copy in Devonshire House and one in the British Museum. This is characteristic of the very early literary efforts of the Friends. Bowden wrote a standard history, while Sewel and Bess have also been the source of material for modern writers and histories of the Friends. The story of Bess was written to answer the attacks of the Conformists, and to call the attention of the King to the treatment of Quakers, while Sewel and Bowden wrote accurate and elaborate histories for posterity. Both of these histories, which are standards of excellence and accuracy, are pro-Quaker, yet a careful com-

parison of the statements with documentary history shows that the several authors in no sense exaggerated the situation.

Among the notable books of Quakers stands the *Journal of George Fox*, written under duress by a plain man, whose earnestness, absolute sincerity and singleness of purpose cannot be questioned. This work has been criticised as being devoid of literary style; but Fox did not pretend to be a scholar; what interested him was the degradation of public morals of his age, and all his literary efforts were directed to reforming the people. This one book marks him as an extraordinary figure, standing out brilliantly against the dark background of moral illiteracy of the seventeenth century. Fox was a prolific writer. If he could not reach a field by voice or a personal visit, he wrote a letter which was a sermon, and sent it.

The life of George Fox has been written by many Friends in modern times, notably Rufus M. Jones, Thomas Hodgkin and others. William Penn was a voluminous author. Fox was brusque at times and wrote to the point. He was the Cromwell of the Quakers, if one can imagine a Cromwell who would not strike a blow and who would literally turn the other cheek, while William Penn was essentially a cavalier of the period, adapted to a Quaker environment. He was at once refined, cultivated and diplomatic. It was Penn who said, "I know no religion which destroys courtesy, civility and kindness." Penn wrote a large number of controversial pamphlets. One of the first was "Truth Exalted," a defense of Quakerism. It was this book which the genial, suave Pepys described as "a ridiculous nonsensical book." This was followed by "The Guide Mistaken," which contained, according to his enemies, "damnable doctrines," and

was so severely criticised that Penn and Whitehead challenged his critics to a public debate, which ended in a riotous free fight. This was followed by "The Sunday Foundation," an attack on the doctrine of the Trinity as held by the Church of England. God, he said, was not to be divided, but was one pure, entire, and actual being, who, in the fullness of time, sent forth His Son as the true light. "Mistake me not," he says, "we have never disowned a Father, Word, and Spirit which are one." Even the satirical Pepys was stirred by this work, as he says, "I find it so well writ, as I think it is too good for him ever to have writ it, and it is a serious sort of a book and not fit for every one to read." Penn was but twenty-four when he wrote this denouncement of the Trinity. The Bishops of London promptly charged him with denying the divinity of Christ, a crime at that period by an Act of Parliament, and the author presently found himself in the Tower. Here in jail, like Bunyan and Sir Walter Raleigh, he wrote his one book, which is published to-day, "No Cross, No Crown," an argument for primitive Christianity. To prove that he had not denied the divinity of Christ, Penn wrote, "Innocency with her open Face." It is said that it convinced the Duke of York that he was innocent, whereupon he was released. Penn later wrote his "Treatise of Oaths," in which his text was, "But I say unto you, swear not at all." He explained the oath as a relic of barbarism. The use of "so help me God," we find from the law of the Almains, of King Clotharius. The laying on of the three fingers above the book, is to signify the Trinity; the thumb and the little finger under the book are to signify the damnation of the body and soul if they swear."

When Penn was in retirement he wrote various defenses of Quakerism. "The New Athenians, no Noble Bereans," "A Key to the Quaker Religion," "Fruits of Solitude," and, more important than all, "An Essay Towards the Present Peace of Europe," in which he advocated what was practically the modern system of arbitration.

Robert Barclay was one of the Quaker writers, who, like Gray, was made famous by one book, "The Apology," which he wrote in Latin as well as in English. It is not the intention to more than suggest some of the more important of the Quakers who have left literary monuments to their name, and we pass the writings, sermons, letters, journals and books of Joseph John Gurney, Elizabeth Fry, and others well known. Thomas Ellwood has left his "Life," showing him to have been a writer of poetry as well as of pros. He wrote thirty or more books and pamphlets, and after his death a volume entitled "A Collection of Poems on Various Subjects," was published.

Ellwood was taught Latin by his friend John Milton, and it was Ellwood who suggested to the blind poet to write "Paradise Regained." The incident is referred to in the "Life of Ellwood." Milton had sent Ellwood a copy of the book, asking for his opinion of it. Ellwood's reply was, "Thou has said much here of Paradise lost; but what hast thou to say about Paradise found?" Two years later Milton showed him "Paradise Regained," and said, "This is owing to you, for you put it into my head, by the question you put to me at Chalfont, which before I had no thought of."

Other Friends with a literary gift were Joseph Bevans Braithwaite, Isaac Braithwaite, Thomas Chalkley, author of

the interesting Journal about the World, who, when but nine years old, was carried home from school in London, where he was struck with mud and stones. "Why do you abuse this boy?" asked a looker-on who had interfered. "Why, don't you see, the brat is a Quaker," replied the man, "and it is no more a sin to kill such as him than to kill a dog." Daniel Wheeler, famous traveller and friend of the Emperor of Russia in 1817, Joseph Sturge, who in 1836 presented a volume to the British public on the horrors of the slave trade, Margaret Fell, the wife of George Fox, Richard Hubberthorne, the soldier and minister, who has left many evidences of his literary ability, from his criticism of the law to "The Twelve Charges," an answer to the Oath of Alliegiance. Stephen Grellett wrote a most interesting journal of life. Thomas Pole, John Burrough, Christopher and Anthony Holder, John Ap John of Wales and many more are deserving mention for their books, pamphlets, letters or epistles, or contributions to the literature of the Quakers.

Friends were often prolific writers. "The Journal" of Isaac Hammer, "The Archdale papers," "The Letters," etc., of Governor John Archdale of North Carolina, "The Friends of Virginia," by Jordan, "Journal of Hannah C. Backhouse," "Life of Samuel Bownas," the writings of William Edmundson, David Ferris, John Fothergill, Samuel Fothergill, John Griffin, Elias Hicks, Joseph Hoag, Stanley Pumphrey, Thomas Scathergood, and many more attest to the literary tendencies of the quakers, many of whose writings can be found in the British Museum and Devonshire House, London, and in America in the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, in Pennsylvania,

the Pennsylvania Historical Society or the libraries of the Orthodox and Hicksite Friends in New York or Philadelphia; also in the Eaton Street meeting-house and Park Avenue meeting-house, Baltimore. There is also a good library in Guilford College, North Carolina, while one of the finest private libraries in America is that collected by Charles Roberts of Philadelphia. Works on Quakerism by Quakers of the day are numerous, but it is not necessary to mention all, as it is not the intention to present a complete list of Quaker books, but rather to call attention to the fact that despite the often quoted statement that the Friends paid no attention to the production of books, that their literary sense was atrophied, the facts show the opposite to be true.

Among the modern Friends who have distinguished themselves in the field of literature, Rufus M. Jones, M. A., D. Litt., professor of philosophy in Haverford College, Pennsylvania, stands among the first. His studies in Mystical Religions, Boeme and other mystical Influences, and the Quakers in the American Colonies, being particularly notable as valuable contributions to the history of the Society of Friends. "The Period of Quakerism," by John M. Fry, "The Beginnings of Quakerism," by William Charles Braithwaite, are also important. T. Edmond Harvey, one of the well known members of the House of Commons, has contributed a book, "The Rise of the Quakers;" not only suggestive of his profound knowledge of the subject, but of the valuable philanthropic work he leads and is interested in, in London.

Other books on Quakerism by Quakers or their descendants are, "The Quaker Invasion of Massachusetts," by Hallowell, and "The Pioneer Quaker." Equally valuable is

the "Life of Mary Dyer," by Horatio Rogers, associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island, a lineal descendant. "The Quaker, a Study in Costume," by Amelia Mott Gummere, is an illuminating treatise on the evolution of the Quaker garments. She is also the author of "Witchcraft and Quakerism," etc., while "The Quaker Post Bag," by Mrs. Godfrey Locker Lampson, is a collection of letters written by Friends, among them William Penn, which throw valuable sidelights on the history of the times.

Other well known and distinguished authors among Friends are: Dr. Isaac Sharpless, President of Haverford College, author of "History of Quaker Government in Pennsylvania," "Two Centuries of Pennsylvania' History,' Quakerism and Politics," and various text-books on astronomy, etc. Elizabeth Braithwaite Emmott, an English author, has written a most valuable book entitled, "The Story of Quakerism."

Friends, as a rule, have not produced much fiction, but in "The Quaker Cross," a story of the old Bowne house, Cornelia Mitchell Parsons has written a most interesting historical novel about this romantic region, enriched by Quaker memories.

The literary work of Augustine Jones, A. B., A. M., LL. B., has left a strong impression on his time. For many years he was the head of the Friends School of Providence. R. I. It was this Friend who was selected by John G. Whittier to represent the Society in a series of discourses in the Universal church in Boston. He has written books and many papers, among them the "Life of Thomas Dudley," second governor of Massachusetts. The ripe scholarship and

literary tastes of Joseph Swain, LL. D., President of Swarthmore College, are well known.

In modern times many literary men of the nation have been Quakers or able to trace their ancestry to a Quaker fire-side. In the 19th century, the names of Neal Dow, Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood are familiar; and among scholars, Thomas Chase, the Greek scholar and translator of the Bible, Pliny, his brother, ripe in scholarship; Goold Brown attained more than national fame, and in the sciences we recall the names of Cope, Maria Mitchell, and Dr. J. B. Holder, the friend of Agassiz, author of "Fauna Americana," "Along the Florida Reef," "The Right Whale;" with Sir John Richardson, "The Museum of Natural History," and with J. G. Wood, The "American Fauna" of his "Natural History." Among the Free Quakers General Nathaniel Green ranked with the leaders, while Moses Brown was as great in philanthropy and the arts of peace.



GOVE HOMESTEAD
Hampton Falls, Where Whittier Died
FRIENDS MEETING AT NEWPORT



HARVARD COLLEGE (The Quadrangle)

CHAPTER XXIX

QUAKER ACTIVITIES.

The rigid rules of the Quakers, insisting upon purity and spirituality, often produced something very near moral perfection. The layman, knowing Quakers of the nineteenth century, will recall men and women who were often "saints" in all the term implies. There was nothing remarkable about this, as these Friends believed that they lived with God, that they were in mental and spiritual touch with Him; that if they sat silent, pure of heart, receptive, God the Father would illumine their hearts, minds and souls, and inspire them, tell them what to do. It was all very simple to the Quaker. There was nothing miraculous or extraordinary about it. The wireless operator on a certain ship cannot communicate with that of another unless the instruments are in harmony or in tune. The Quakers believed that a man must be attuned to the Infinite, pure, sweet, clean, humble and righteous to be in spiritual accord with God. Hence a minister, totally unprepared, took his seat in the meeting on the First Day of the week, knowing that he had comported himself righteously. When such a man or woman rose and preached an effective, often brilliant and eloquent sermon, having never thought of it before, he was positive that God was speaking through him, or had empowered him to speak. Sainte Beuve, in his "Port Royal," describes this well. "Such souls," he says, "arrive at a certain fixed and invincible state; a state which is genuinely heroic, and from out of which the greatest deeds are performed. They have an inner state which before all things is one of love and

humility, of infinite confidence in God, and of security to themselves, accompanied with tenderness to others."

Rufus Jones, the distinguished American Historian of the Friends, writes in his introduction to the "Quakers of the American Colonies, "These rare and beautiful souls, like great and artistic creations of beauty, are not capable of explanation in utilitarian terms, nor can their origin be traced in terms of cause and effect; but it can be safely said that they never come except among people consecrated to the invisible church." I venture the belief that the author had in mind his own father and mother, Eli and Sybil Jones, beloved ministers of the Society of Friends in New England, under whose preaching I often sat, as they, with countless others, with smiling faces, and purity of heart and soul, were attuned to the Infinite.

If the Quakers believed that they were in communication with God, that the Divine Spirit spoke directly to them, it was evident that they must as nearly as possible have lived a god-like life; and the attempt to accomplish this, to keep themselves unsoiled, pure of heart, and "free" explains all of the so-called peculiarities of the Quakers. They were constantly endeavoring to live with God. They were not experimenting or trying to live as they would if Christ should appear on earth; but they were endeavoring to associate with God, and make themselves acceptable to Him. This continual attempt at purity of heart debarred the Quakers from many activities; but, as a result, when they did participate there was no question. It is here that we find the explanation of the remarkable influence the Quakers have had in the past and have to-day in the world. There is no questioning their meaning. They are always loyal,

honest,—their word is their bond. If a dishonest or criminal Quaker exists, it is because his fellows have not discovered it. So to-day no set of men and women have so entirely the confidence of all peoples, black, white, red or yellow, as the plain and gentle people, once in derision called Quakers. For these reasons, the Quakers were denied many channels of activities which might have developed them along certain lines. Music was eliminated, and many of the gentle arts. American Quakers have produced but few notable artists and no great sculptors, though there are a number in England. This, of course, does not apply to the immediate descendants of Quakers, sons and daughters who shine in many notable fields. Sir John Lister was the greatest of the Quaker medical men.

And so one might go through the army, navy, and diplomatic corps, the arts and sciences, and show a dearth of active Quakers; but this is amply compensated for by the activities of the Friends in other directions. It is often said that no man can enter politics and remain unsullied, yet some of the most noted politicians in America have been Quakers. Their attitude in the rise and fall of Quakerism in Pennsylvania is a page in purity in politics, deserving of profound attention, as is the study of the statesmanship of John Bright.

The Quakers have been denied participation in many events or political functions from conscientious reason. They have recognized it, and this has some bearing on their activities in other fields. I recall the remark of my grandfather, John Chase Gove: "We cannot engage in the war, but we will aid in making good citizens out of the freed men." If the labors of the Quakers in England and Amer-

ica in this question of negro slavery alone could be collected or assembled into one volume, it would serve as an answer to every critic of these people from 1650 to this date.

In the old days, the Quakers controlled Rhode Island. Their Governors Wanton and others carried on the government without suspicion, and rarely have charges been made against a Quaker official from then until now, from the governor to an Indian agent, which could be substantiated. Quakers everywhere take an active participation in politics. There are now nine members of Parliament who are Quakers. The Mayor of Doncaster, James B. Clark, is a Quaker. He was highly regarded by King Edward, though when the King invited him to the royal box at the races, he replied, that while he appreciated the distinguished honor, he could not consistently break through the rule of the Society of Friends. The Mayor regretted that he was forced to decline the King's invitation, but the latter appreciated the reason, and also knew that the Quaker mayor was a man of the highest principle and one of the greatest philanthropists in Great Britain.

The Quakers have always been leaders in the great philanthropies. Among the first to suggest fundamental reforms, with a profound prescience, they have devoted themselves to these activities in every land, whether it be charity or education, or the general uplift. In the missionary field, the Friends have always been among the first to move in foreign lands, and the last to leave. The work of Elizabeth Fry has been referred to, and her prototype is found in hundreds of Quakers, whose good works have not been known. The travels of Friends, visiting the various Yearly Meetings, were, so far as the general public was concerned,



THE NEW BEDFORD MEETING HOUSE (Upper)
THE LYNN MEETING HOUSE



THE MOSES BROWN PRIVATE SCHOOL
Providence, R. I.

even among Quakers, mere visitations to the meetings, but to those who knew, these trips were often of the most complicated character, and embraced a variety of activities of profound importance to the various communities. When Elizabeth Comstock went to Washington in the sixties to visit my grandparents, then members of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting, she insisted upon visiting all the penal and corrective institutions, and I well remember, as I often accompanied her as an escort, the influence the address of this sweet-faced woman had upon the convicts of the great Maryland penitentiary. Similar work was done by Caroline Talbot, Eli and Sybil Jones and all the prominent ministers of the age who passed through the Capital. In a sense the majority of ministers of the Friends were missionaries. They visited private houses, great prisons, Indians or the native tribes of all countries. One of Penn's reasons for founding Pennsylvania was the desire to carry the gospel to the Indians.

American Friends early established many missions in foreign lands. Mary Fisher visited the Sultan Mahomet IV in 1660. The great undenominational societies, the London Missionary Society, the Religious Tract Society, the Foreign Bible Society, were aided materially by Quakers; while Daniel Wheeler, James Backhouse, Stephen Grellet, Joseph John Gurney and many more carried the message of Friends about the world. Hannah Kilbane visited Africa, or Sierra Leone, in 1817, and with Ann Thompson she taught the ignorant ex-slaves who founded this colony. Into India, China, and other lands the Quakers have carried their activities, and the Friends Foreign Missionary Association of England has performed yeomen's service in India and Mada-

gascar. In Syria important work has been done by Ellen Clara Miller of London, and by Eli and Sybil Jones of New England. The Quakers are now conducting many missions in China, and have always constantly fought the opium industry.

It is not my object to give an elaborate account of this work, but merely to suggest it, and to point out the fact that in the great fields of human endeavor where spiritual and intellectual uplift has been the object, the Quakers have been in the front rank, giving their lives, their money and their encouragement.

The story of the Quakers and their attempt to set the highest possible example of Christianity is a remarkable one, and that it has accomplished more than was possibly expected, will perhaps be the concensus of opinion of those best fitted to judge. That the Quakers arrested the attention of the world cannot be denied. The very nature of their claims, their absolute unselfishness, their modesty, bravery under torture, their supreme courage, made an impression upon their most virulent enemies, and did much toward arresting the downward tendency of morals in the seventeenth century.

As to the future of Quakerism no one can tell; but as one by one, the great claims of the Quakers made in the period between 1650 and 1700 have been allowed, the Quakers of to-day can well say that their message to the world still stands triumphant; and that history has borne out the justice of their early demands, and the futility of opposition. It matters little whether the Quakers increase or diminish in numbers; the great reforms they advocated have either been accomplished or so emphatically adopted by the world, that

there is no mistaking the verdict. The simple life, the crime of war, the suppression of slavery, absolute honesty in business, in politics, in international affairs, justice, equal rights, suffrage for women, rights of free conscience, temperance, morality and perfect conduct every day, these and many more were the corner stones of the Quaker propaganda; and to-day there is not a Christian church which does not advocate them, which does not recognize that the once despised Quaker was a prophet in his day, and a true one. Hence, it matters little whether the Friends increase or merely hold their own. The latter they are doing, and there is every reason to believe that there has begun a revival of interest in this remarkable sect, which will add materially to its strength and numbers.

The London Yearly Meeting is not decreasing, and if the Friends proselyted after the custom of certain other sects, their growth would be large; but members are born into the Friends Society, and it is rarely that any one is urged to join them, at least in the East, as in other orthodox and denominational bodies. The Friends of Australia belong to the London Meeting. Friends are represented in Norway and in Denmark, and there has been in the twentieth century a strong spiritual interest in Holland. Friends are represented in the south of France and in Germany (Minden), while meetings are held at all the missionary stations from India Ceylon, Madagagscar, China, the Holy Land and other countries. The Friends are stronger in America than elsewhere, and the meetings, especially in the West, are increasing, there being about sixteen yearly meetings in Canada and the United States. We have seen how the Quakers gradually went West. In 1812 the Ohio Yearly Meeting was

formed, and in 1821 the Indiana Yearly Meeting—from Ohio, then the Western Yearly Meeting in 1858, Iowa Yearly Meeting in 1860, Kansas Yearly Meeting in 1872, Wilmington Yearly Meeting in 1892. The Iowa Quakers increased so rapidly that in 1893 the Oregon Yearly Meeting was set off, in 1895 the California Yearly Meeting, and in 1898 the Nebraska Yearly Meeting, while the Canada Yearly Meeting was set off from New York in 1867.

At present it is estimated that there are one hundred and twenty-three thousand Orthodox Friends in England and America, or if the Hicksites, Wilburites are included, one hundred and fifty thousand.

The London Orthodox Meeting includes. . .	18,700
The Dublin Yearly Meeting includes.	2,500
Foreign Members	2,800
Europeans	300
American Yearly Meetings.	95,000
Foreign American Meetings.	3,700

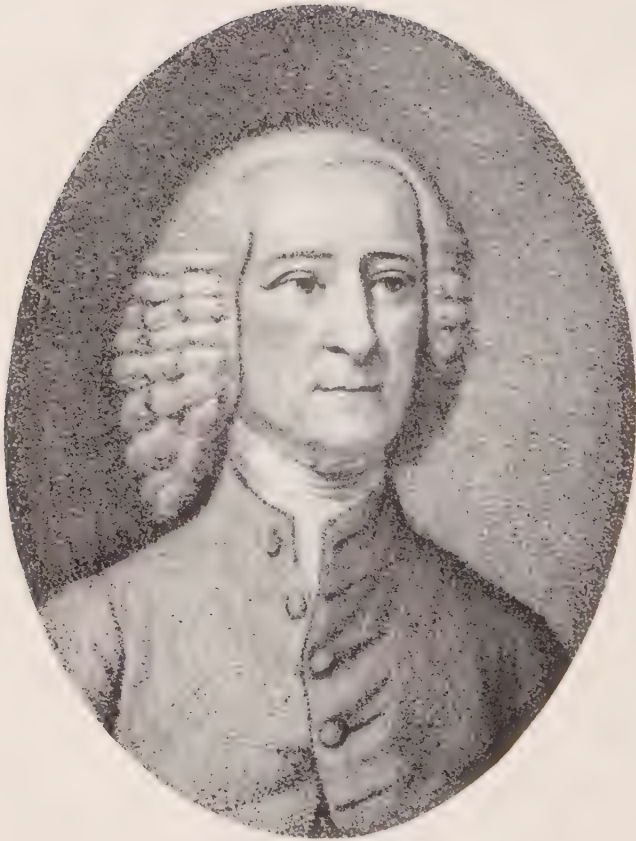
123,500

It is not a question of numbers with the Friends There was but one Christian when Christ began His work, yet His message arrested the attention of the world of His day. When George Fox became a seventeenth century disciple, his clarification notes for reform aroused the world and established a new era of reform and spiritual purity.

Elizabeth Braithwaite Emmot, in her story of "Quakerism," says: "Numbers are not, however, the only sign of progress, nor the best test of spiritual life. The Quaker message which binds together in one fellowship all these



*FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE
Fourth and Arch Streets, Philadelphia*



DR. JOHN FOTHERGILL

widely separated Friends the world over, is a very living and powerful one. It is the same message that was preached by George Fox, and the early Friends."

Mention of Quaker activities would not be complete without reference to some of the notable figures of yesterday and to-day.

Among the notable American Quakers of distinguished ancestry, was Charles F. Coffin, business man and philanthropist. He was a lineal descendant of Tristram Coffin of Buxton, Devonshire, son of Nicholas Coffin, who came to America in 1642, moving to Nantucket in 1659. The family is one of the most ancient in English and Norman history, and has given England some of its most notable men in the English nobility, army, navy, diplomatic service and business. Sir Richard Coffin, Knight, was given the ancient estate "Portledge," by William the Conqueror for valuable services. This was in the parish of Alwington, near Bideford, England, in the vicinity of Devon. Admiral Henry E. Coffin and Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin distinguished themselves in the service of their country. A notable and leading figure in the Coffin family to-day is Charles Albert Coffin of New York, president of the General Electric Company, a descendant of a long line of Quakers. His strong individuality has made itself felt in every state in the Union as a public benefactor, being one of those who aided in the opening up of the many benefits of electricity to the world. Charles Albert Coffin is a nephew of Charles F. Coffin and son of Albert Coffin.

Among the Friends who have distinguished themselves in America are John Bartram, the American botanist, Whittier, the poet, Bayard Taylor, John Dickinson, author of the

"Farmer's Letters" during the Revolution. Two Quakers—Greene and Mufflin—became not only Free Quakers, but generals in the Revolution. Ezra Cornell, who founded the great university which bears his name, was a Quaker. Benjamin West, who painted Penn's Treaty with the Indians, included in his historic work a number of portraits, I am informed by Mr. Horace I. Smith, a descendant of Penn's secretary, William Logan. The latter is shown in the best-known Penn painting holding a deed next to Penn. The next figure is that of Thomas Loyd. The figure standing between Penn and Logan is Thomas Story, and the person between Logan and Loyd is the father of the artist. The young man leaning on a trunk is West himself, and his wife is distinguished as the squaw. Mr. Smith, who is descended from Loyd and Logan, found the original plate of this picture in London, and it is now in Philadelphia.

In the world of business of the nineteenth or twentieth century few Quakers have made so signal a success or name for themselves as Francis T. Holder of Yonkers, N. Y., a linal descendant of the Quaker Nantucket shipbuilder, Daniel Holder, 1750. A birthright Friend, he entered the army of the Union and served through many of its campaigns, becoming a Free Quaker, though it is a fact that he was not disowned. He became identified with the textile fabric interests of America, and a dominant figure in its production, his inventive genius and masterly generalship placing him at the head of the greatest textile fabric business in the world, in Yonkers, New York, Alexander Smith & Sons. This extraordinary business employs nearly six thousand persons and is the means of support of twenty-five

thousand individuals. Mr. Holder contributed to the Friends' interests in California and Massachusetts, and gave to the Historical Society of Clinton, Massachusetts, a fine building, the "Holder Memorial," in which a room is devoted to Quaker historical data relating to the Holder family from the time of Christopher down.

The Quakers were not unmindful of the importance of places for worship, and the old Quaker meeting-houses in this country and England are among the milestones of history.

The quaint Byberry, Pennsylvania, meeting-house is well described in the poem of Fanny Pierson in the beautiful little volume of "Old Friends Meeting Houses," by John Russell Hayes.

Westchester, with its twin Greek porches, one for men and the other for women, the fine old Arch Street meeting-house in Philadelphia, the more pretentious Race Street building, with its iron fence and strict colonial design; the severe, but beautiful, Green Street Philadelphia meeting-house, with its white window-frames and shutters, its forbidding brick wall and iron gate shutting out innovations, all form quaint, but loving pictures to the stroller. The Chesterfield meeting-house stands in a beautiful park. An old-fashioned shingled meeting-house can be seen at old Westbury, Long Island, where the descendants of many of the early Friends still live.

One of the finest specimens of colonial style of meeting-house is seen at Wilmington, Delaware. It is a plain brick building, with sharp, sloping roof, with great eaves, a picture in beautiful simplicity, surrounded by a brick wall over which gray elms cast their grateful shade. At New Garden,

Pennsylvania, Morristown, New Jersey and Camden, are quaint and characteristic meeting-houses, while at Reading, Pennsylvania, may be seen the old log cabin used in the primitive days. A striking contrast to others is the Girard Avenue meeting-house in Philadelphia, pretentious, aristocratic, severe and elegant.

In the towns of Darby and Merion are interesting houses, while that of Hopewell, Virginia, is like a fort with its solid stone first and second story. In many meeting-houses the graveyard is of peculiar interest; to me, that of Lynn, where my ancestors lie, and at Frenchay, England, where a few flat stones lie prone on the sod, where Christopher Holder lies and George Fox often preached. The meeting-houses were often large and pretentious, even in country places, like the public buildings of Texas, or the schools of California. Such is the Sandy Hill meeting-house, Maryland, and Norristown, Pennsylvania, the latter being of the fine old Quaker type of colonial days, with its duplicate porches as plain as they could be made.

They were not all pretentious, as at Hockessin the meeting-house was small and plain. So at Maple Grove, Indiana, or at Nine Partners in New York, one of the quaintest of all the old houses, with the roof coming down well over the upper windows, and the two doors innocent of porches. A delightful picture among the elms is made by the Pilesgrove, New Jersey, meeting-house, with its many white doors and windows, belonging to a type of long, large stone houses extremely pretentious, yet simple. Such is the meeting-house at Haddenfield, New Jersey, and London Grove, Pennsylvania, both surrounded by large trees and having quaint porches. Other American meeting-houses of great



FOUNDERS HALL, HAVERFORD COLLEGE



Haverford College (Friends)

interest are those at Newport, Rhode Island, Salem and Lynn, Massachusetts; Providence, Rhode Island; New York, Salem, New Jersey; Fallowfield and Romanville, Pennsylvania; Trenton, New Jersey; Germantown, Pennsylvania; and Coldstream, Ontario, Canada.

Modern meeting-houses may be seen in a fine Grecian building in South Carolina and in Boston. The latter calls to mind the fact that for many years the Monthly Meeting of Lynn objected to the forming of a meeting in the growing town of Boston. In the records of the Lynn meeting I find that my great grandfather, Richard Holder, was sent on a mission to discourage this movement. The minute is as follows:—1803-1 mo. "The subject relating to Friends in Boston being again before this meeting, and as it appears by information given this meeting, that Friends there are in the practice of holding and have set up and do hold a meeting, we do hereby appoint Richard Holder to labor with these Friends who do thus contrary to the advice of the Monthly Meeting, etc." The objection, doubtless, was that there were not enough Friends in Boston at the time to justify it.

The fine meeting-house of Friends at Devonshire House, London, has been described; also Westminster Meeting, with its array of rooms. The average meeting-house in England differs very much from those of America, if we may except Jordans, a simple type evidently copied in the colonies. One of the most artistic and quaint meeting-houses I saw in England is that at Frenchay, where Christopher Holder and Josiah Cole met and the former lies buried. Much like the Frenchay meeting-house is the one at Milverton, Somerset, being partly surrounded by a high stone wall after the ancient fashion. This meeting-house was built in

the seventeenth century. Quaint and curious is the Cheltenham meeting-house of about the same age; the prim up-and-down building, with two large windows and simple door, connected with a longer building against which plants were trained in conventional designs. Near it were colleges for the poor. The Worcester, England, meeting-house, built in 1700, was a strange, plain building, with four large windows, and what appeared to be a small house forming the entrance. The entire building seemed to be attached to a house. A place of meeting in Farmington, Berkshire, has the appearance of a pseudo pyramid set on a stone parallelogram, with a window on each side. Surrounding it is a stone wall about seven feet in height. It is still used.

In America there was more or less similarity of architecture in the meeting-houses; but these old English buildings exhibited an extraordinary variety. Hereford in 1823 had the usual stone wall, but was a very tall stone building of two stories, the roof being very small, with no eaves. That of Tewkesbury, Gloucester, was still more remarkable; a long, low building of stone, with low roof and five enormous arched windows, the middle one cut in two to form a door. In the ends were two equally large windows, reaching nearly from the ground to the roof. Nearly all these meeting-houses, which were drawn by Thomas Pole,* dated from the seventeenth century. The Leominster meeting-house at Herefordshire was built in 1680. It had an ample burial ground, and was made up of two separate stone,

*The cuts of old English meeting houses are from the book of Edmund Tolson Wedmore, Esq., of Bristol, England, referred to in the preface. The original drawings by Dr. Pole are owned by him, and were loaned to the author of the present work.

pyramid-like buildings, shut in from the street by a wall, while a lower wall separated them from the graveyard. The Birmingham meeting-house, destroyed in 1703, had a higher roof, but with the tall arched windows previously noticed.

At Exeter the very limit of severity is seen in a perfectly square building, built in 1692, and with ample grounds. All the meeting-houses are of stone, even the fences; in fact I do not recall seeing a wooden dwelling in England. This is due to the fact that there is no available wood on this side of Norway, and the very sensible plan has been adopted of making buildings durable; hence all the villages, cities and farms have the appearance of age, and are old. To the American the effect is dispiriting, cold, gloomy, and the impression is of dampness and discomfort, while the Englishman gazes with amazement at our ephemeral wooden houses, which sooner or later wear out or burn down.

In 1870 a small Friends Meeting was organized in Washington, which gradually increased in size. Among the early members were John C. and Hannah G. Gove, James E. and Phoebe Underhill, Johnathan Dennis, Lawrence H. Hopkins, Emily N. Hopkins, Frank E. Hopkins, Florence Hopkins, Emily E. Hopkins, Clayton Balderston, Nathan C. Paige, Thomas Talbot, Sena Spencer, William Hoge, Daniel Breed, Wilhelmina Breed, William Robinson, Amy Boune and Elida Gifford. The meeting-house at Baltimore is interesting and suggests many names prominent in the history of modern Quakerism, of which that of Dr. J. C. Thomas is conspicuous. Other names identified with Baltimore are Frances T. King, James Carey, John Scott, John B. Crenshaw, Richard M. Janney and Jesse Tyson; and you might have met at the Yearly Meeting, Mrs. Samuel Boyce,

John Page, William C. Tabor, Joseph Cartland, from New England; Jonathan De Vol, William H. Case, Benjamin Talham, Robert Lindley Murray, Samuel Heaton and Jesse P. Haines from New York. Chas. F. Coffin, Levi Jessop, Francis W. Thomas, Isaac P. Evans, Daniel Hill, Barnabas C. Hobbs, Dr. Dougan Clark, Allen Jay, Allan N. Tomlinson and many more whose well known names should be mentioned in any complete list of active and influential Friends during the past fifty years.

Quakerism to-day over the entire country is very different from what it was fifty years ago. It is not the province of the present work to analyze the changes and evolution in the body of Friends, but in 1865 to 1870 in New England the Orthodox Friends still retained their primitive simplicity. In 1867-8 the author was a student at the Friends School of Providence, where, among other things, music was tabooed. The school was practically the same as when my parents and grandparents attended it, but a change was coming. The Western Friends had long been more liberal, or to the Eastern Friends, more like Methodists, and this increased until Friends' meetings had "revivals" and gradually came to resemble other denominations in various ways. Many Friends still remain as they were in 1860. As an illustration, there are two meetings in Pasadena, California; one can hardly be distinguished from a Methodist church; the other is a typical Friends meeting, a fac-simile of the Lynn Meeting as I knew it in the sixties. To-day the Lynn Meeting has a pastor, singing and music, and has assumed the earmarks of modern times. This is true over a large section of the country, and can doubtless be traced to the coming of Joseph John Gurney, who sowed the seed by

using the Bible in meeting. The author has often referred to non-essentials in Quakerism. They are doubtless found in all sects and denominations, and the tendency of the day is to simplify religion, make it more practical, attractive and understandable. Despite the many changes in Quakerism, its divisions and separations, it still—Orthodox, Hicksite, Gurneyite, Wilburite—presents a solid front of exalted morality, which can but challenge the admiration of the world.

I am reminded of the lines of John Morley in his *Life of Oliver Cromwell*: "Quakerism was undergoing many changes and developments, but in all of them it has been the most devout of all endeavors to turn Christianity into the religion of Christ."

FINIS

APPENDICES

APPENDICES.

EARLY QUAKER REPLIES AND TRACTS

Christopher Holder's Reply to Nathaniel Morton
In Answer to Attacks upon Them. Illustrating the Quaint
Style of the Early Quakers

One of the methods employed by the early Quakers of the George Fox period in reply to the attacks of their enemies, was the issuing of pamphlets which were scattered broadcast in the camps, haunts and churches of the enemy. As an illustration of these seventeenth-century tracts, I have selected one of the rarest, by Christopher Holder, who with John Copeland founded the first Quaker meeting in America, at Sandwich. So far as known, there are but two copies of this quaint document. I found one in the Library of the British Museum; the other is in the Friends Library in Devonshire House, London. It is believed that no American library possesses copies. I also have Anthony Holder's pamphlet, which is addressed to two "priests," Henry Hean of Ollveston, and William Wilton of Elburton Towers, near Bristol,—a stronghold of the Holder family, even to-day. The paper of Christopher Holder is addressed to Nathaniel Morton of Boston, who was a leader in the attacks against the Quakers, who among others replied to the Holder paper:

"The Faith And Testimony Of The Martyrs and suffering servants of Jesus Christ persecuted in New England vindi-

cated, against the lyes and slanders cast on them by Nathaniel Morton in his book entitled "New England's Memorial."

Written for the sake of the honest hearted, by a servant of the living God, who is a witness of the Resurrection of the Christ Jesus, and of his appearance the second time without sin unto Salvation.

Christopher Holder.*

A faithful witness will not lye, but a false record will speak lyes, Prov. 14.5, they bend their tongues like their bows for lies. But they have no courage for truth upon the Earth; for they proceed from evil to worse, and they have not known me, saith the Lord, Jer. 9:3.

There is no new thing under the sun as it hath been always, so it is now, he that is born after the flesh persecuteth him that is born after the Spirit, the fruits of which we have found plentifully in New England, the beast and false prophet hath joyned together to war with the Lamb and his followers, and the Dragon hath opened his mouth wide to swallow up the woman that is coming up out of the wilderness, through whom the man child shall be brought forth to rule the Nations with a rod of iron.

In the power of which Dragon I have found one Nathaniel Morton, as by the language which proceedeth out of his mouth doth plainly appear, in a book tituled "New England's Memorial," wherein he undertakes to write against innocent harmless people whom God hath made choice of to bear witness to his Spirit, and to leave their native Country, and all that was dear and near to them therein, to go into

that part of the world called New England, to declare the glad tidings of salvation, and the way to life everlasting to all people, whom this man reproaches, as a pernicious sect of Quakers, with many other malicious and unsavory expressions, to which I say the Lord rebuke him, and make his folly manifest unto all men, and wipe off the reproaches and slanders, which he hath cast upon his people, and open the eyes of the Sons of men that they may discern between truth and error, light and darkness, Christ and Antichrist, that they may not joyn with the Dragon and his army against the Lamb and his Army.

And now Nathaniel I shall come to speak something briefly unto what thou has laid down to be their corrupt and damnable doctrines, which they have sowed among you, in every Town of each Jurisdiction as thou sayest.

1. That all men ought to attend to the light within them to be the Rule of their lives and actions.

Ans. Well, is this such a corrupt and damnable doctrine, to direct people to attend unto Christ, who is the true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the World, surely, if thou had been in the World in the dayes of John, thou would have called his doctrine pernicious, corrupt, and damnable, again Christ saith, I am the light of the World, he that followeth me, shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life, again, while ye have the light believe in the light, that we may be the children of light, and that this light shineth in the conscience or is within a man manifest, for Paul saith concerning the Gentiles, that which may be known of God is manifest in them that Christ dwelleth in the Saints, again, know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates; again the

light of the glorious Gospel of Christ hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the Knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ, surely if thou had been in time, thou wouldst have called this also corrupt and damnable doctrine, for by the same Spirit according to the measure thereof received, as these Scriptures were given forth from, do we direct people to the same light, which the Scriptures speak of, that they may come to the same life in Christ, that so they may be freed from condemnation; for this is the Condemnation that light is come into the world, and men love darkness rather than light, so that it is evident to direct people to believe in that where with Christ hath enlightened them, is no damnable doctrine, nor cause of condemnation, but to lead people from the light of the glorious Gospel which shineth in their hearts, into outward observations, crying lo here, or lo there, in this form, or that ordinance out of which God is departed, is damnable doctrine, and the cause of condemnation, among which generation thou thy self art found.

2ly. Thou sayest that we said the holy Scriptures were not for the enlightening of men, nor a settled and permanent Rule of Life.

Ans. What the holy men of God that gave forth the Scriptures as they were moved by the Holy Ghost do own the Scriptures to be for that we do own them also, but that any of them have said, that the Scriptures are for the enlightening of Man, for a settled and permanent rule, of life without distinction I never read, but this I have read, that they are able to make wise unto Salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, thus

we own them to be, and can witness, and set to our seals to the truth thereof, as by the Holy Ghost they are brought to our remembrance, and is brought to our understanding, but still we say Christ is the true light that enlighteneth Man, as it is written in the Scriptures, he is given a Covenant to the people, a light to lighten the Gentiles and the glory of the children of Israel; by this Spirit is given for a rule to the children of God to keep them from the pollutions of the world, and to lead them up unto God, in whom is life eternal, as saith Paul, If ye walk in the Spirit, ye shall not fulfill the works of the flesh; and again, as many as are the Sons of God, are led by the Spirit of God, and again as many as walk according to this rule peace be unto them, and mercy upon the Israel of God, (this rule) this is Christ by whom man became a new creature, as it is clear by the foregoing words in that Chapter, and how can you own it to be a settled and permanent rule, when one of your Magistrates William Collier by name said to William Newland, and Ralph Allen, that in Beza's translation there is eight hundred errors, in the last translation three hundred errors, surely if there be so many errors in that which ye call your settled and permanent rule, you hath need to have the Spirit of Truth to show you wherein the errors are, or else you will soon e're from the truth, and the rule of life and salvation.

3dly. Thou sayest they deny the man-hood of Christ, and affirm that as a man he is not in heaven.

Ans. As for the word manhood I know not of such a word in the Scriptures, but if thou mean by manhood the man Christ Jesus, which was conceived of the Holy Ghost in the womb of the Virgin Mary, who was of the seed of

David according to the flesh, who took on him the seed of Abraham, who was crucified by the Jews, and rose again the third day, according to the Scriptures, then I utterly deny what thou sayest, and do affirm that Jesus Christ we own and no other, and do verily believe through him, and by him to be saved and by no other, knowing that he only died for our sins, and is risen again for our justification, and is ascended into the highest Heavens, Angels, principalities and powers, being subjected unto him, where he is glorified with the same glory that he had with the father before the world was, who is the express image of the invisible and God, the first born of every creature, for by him were all things created both visible and invisible, and is the head and bride groom of the Church, which he hath purchased unto himself by his blood, this is our faith concerning Christ, and if your faith is otherwise than this, it is contrary unto the faith of God's elect, that gave forth the Scriptures, and then your Christ is not the true Christ, but Antichrist, and you are of them that deny both the Father and the Son and then your doctrine is damnable, and corrupt, and so that which you charge others withall, you are guilty of your selves.

4thly. Thou sayest they deny the resurrection of the dead.

This charge also I utterly deny, and do affirm that we believe that as in the first Adam all died, so in the second Adam shall all be made alive, and shall be raised into life everlasting, or unto condemnation everlasting, and that all shall receive from the name of the Lord a just reward for their deeds done in the body, whether they be good, or whether they be evil, else were we of all men most miserable, if we had only hope in this life, and as the Apostle

saith, if the dead arise not at all, why are they then baptized for the dead, and why suffered we imprisonments, whippings, cuttings, of our ears, and some of us the loss of our lives, whose blood still lies at the doors of our persecutors, in New England, herein thou may be a witness of the falseness of the charge, for if we were such as thou would by thy lies make us to be, we might say as the Apostle did, it being the consequence of such tenant, let us eat and drink for tomorrow we die, but our suffering unto death doth rectifie, that our hope was not only in this life, but that after the desolution of our house of this earthly tabernacle we should have a building of God, a House not made with hands, eternal in the Heavens, and it is evident that they who deny the resurrection cannot with cheerfulness offer up their lives to the death as our friends did because then the hope of all their enjoyments are at an end, but our martyred friends being in the same faith as the ancient worthies were, one of them not accepting deliverance but by constraint when offered, that she might obtain a better resurrection; and further we can truly say as Paul did in the like case, what did it advantage him if he had fought with beasts of Ephesus after the manner of men, if the dead be not raised, so can we say, not what doth it advantage us, if we have fought with beasts at New England after the manner of men (if the dead rise not) whom we found more like wolves, bears, and devouring lyons, than like Christian men, as witness your forementioned cruelty on the innocent Lambs of Christ, whom he sent among you to warn you of the evil of your ways, so by what here is written, and what we also suffered among you I hope it will manifestly appear unto all honest hearted people, that not we but you as your

practices have shown do deny the resurrection; and Nathaniel Morton thou are as grossly false in other things in thy book called New England's Memorial as in this, it is not worthy to be minded by any, but as the Memorial of the Wicked perish.

5thly. Thou sayest they affirm that an absolute perfection in holiness and grace is attainable in this life.

Ans. There is thy own words, it is that we hold, we believe that Christ is perfect, and that the gift of the grace of God is perfect, and that as man is led and guided by it, he is led to deny all ungodliness and Worldly lusts, and to live godly in this present World, and unto this Christ and grace and gift of God which is perfect do we direct all people, that in him they may believe, and from him they may receive power, that thereby they may know the Regeneration and the new birth and so become the Sons of God, and that is the perfect state which we say is attainable in this life, for that birth cannot sin, it is true it may be slain or made a sufferer by sin, as John saith, he that is born of God sinneth not, neither can he sin, because his seed remaineth in him, and this no new thing, nor strange nor damnable doctrine for this was the end or work of the Ministry, which the Apostles had received from Christ, for the perfecting the saints, and that they might present every man perfect in Christ, also he prayed for them that they might be perfect, and entire, wanting nothing, but this Faith or condition is not soon or easily attained to, nor by other means known but as man cometh through the Death with Christ to sin, and is made alive by him to Righteousness, and if you preach any other doctrine than his, you preach another Gospel than what Paul preached and so are under

the curse which Paul pronounced against them that preached another Gospel, and so in the end you will be found yourselves to be a pernicious sect of heritics, and not us called Quakers.

6thly. Thou sayest they placed their justification upon their patience and sufferings for their opinions, and on their righteous life, retired severity, and affected singularity, in the words and Jestures.

Ans. This is a most abominable lie, and a false slander, for which thou must receive thy reward, among the lyers in the Lake except thou repent, for we place justification in none but in Christ, nor by no other means are we justified in the sight of God, but by the Righteousness of Christ, who of God is made unto us Wisdom, Righteousness, Sanctification, and Redemption, and as we feel this Righteousness of Christ wrought in us, and we wrought into it, we feel ourselves justified in Christ, and so have peace with God, and to believe and witness this is no error nor delusion, and to preach it unto others is no corrupt nor damnable doctrine.

7thly. Thou sayest as to civil account they used not nor practised any civil respect to Man through Superiors either in Majestratical considerations, or as Masters, or Parents, or the Ancient in word or gesture.

Ans. This is another lie, and false slander, for as for civil respect we alloy it to all men according to their places, both in word and gesture, as for magistrates we respect their commands in doing what is just and right, and in suffering that which is unjust not using any means of resistance by carnal weapons, and as to Masters and Parents, we own subjection and obedience to them in all things, that do not cross the command and will of God, but as to foolish ges-

tures and flattering titles, which are in themselves and as commonly they are used, are uncivil and not civil, but usually done in Hypocrisy and vain glory, and deceit, these things we deny, and cannot give it unto any man, nor receive it from any man, for in so doing we should be reprov'd by our Maker, and of this mind was Elihu, who said, I will not now accept the person of man; neither will I give flattering titles to Man, for I may not give titles to man, least my Maker should take me away suddenly.

8thly. Thou sayest we deny the use of oaths for the deciding civil controversies.

Ans. That we do and upon all other accounts whatsoever, and that in obedience to the command of Christ, who saith swear not at all, but let your communications be yea, yea, nay, nay, for whatsoever is more, cometh of evil, the Apostle James saith, before all things my brethren swear not, neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other Oath, but let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay, least you fall into condemnation, and is this corrupt and damnable doctrine, dost not thou condemn thyself in the things that thou allowest wouldest thou have the Scriptures to be a settled and permanent Rule, and yet call the doctrine therein contained, corrupt, pernicious and damnable, wouldest thou not have called Christ and the Apostles a pernicious sect and their doctrine, corrupt and damnable, if thou hadst been in their days. To that of God in thee I speak, which shall answer me in the day when the book of conscience is opened and thou judged out of it, and rewarded according to thy work.

9thly. Again thou sayest this spirit of delusion became very prevalent with many so as the number of them increased to the great danger of the subversion both of Church

and State, notwithstanding the endeavors of them in Authority to suppress the same, had not the Lord declared against them in blasting their enterprizes and contrivements, so as they have of late withered away in a great measure; sundry of their teachers and leaders which have caused them to erre, are departed the Country, and we trust the Lord will make the folly of the remainder manifest more and more.

Ans. I grant that the truth which thou callest a delusion became very prevalent with many and hath entered into the hearts of many, and hath prevailed, notwithstanding your Prisons, Whips, and Gallows or any other, your carnal Weapons and as it hath prospered so it doth prosper and shall prosper notwithstanding all that you can say or do for the Lord hath not declared against us, neither are we withered away, but if thou hast an eye open, thou might see the contrary, for the Lord hath appeared for us, and given us great dominion over you, so that we can pass from all your Jurisdiction without any molestation, and that we are not withered away is evident to all men, for our Meetings are more public and larger than ever they were, and this is brought to pass and accomplished through the help and power of God, notwithstanding all your bloody persecuting carnal weapons; and although some of us according to the will of God are departed the Country, yet there are enough remaining to make thy folly manifest to all men and more.

Again thou concludes with these vows let our deliverance from so great a danger be received among the principall of the Lord's gracious providences towards New England.

Ans. Alas poor man thou gloryest in that which will be your shame; for I know not why thou boasts of deliverance, except it be in this, that we come not so often to your meet-

ings and courts as we were used to do, and if it be so, if thou rightly understand the cause thereof, it would cause thee to lament and not rejoice if thou hast any tenderness in thee towards God, for in that the Lord requireth us not to visit you as formerly, it plainly signifieth that the day of your visitation is over and that you are left to your selves and given up to hardness of heart, and blindness of mind as Israel of old was, whom the Prophet complained of saying why should they be smitten any more they revolt more and more.

Again as touching Ephraim the Prophet saith, Ephraim is joyned to idols let him alone; again Christ sayth of the Pharisees, let them alone, they are the blind leader of the blind, and again, he that is filthy let him be filthy still, so that it is an evident sign, that, that visitation is over, and that the next thing that can be expected is utter destruction from the hand of the Lord, and I am jealous, nay I verily believe this is the case with many of you at this day in New England, who have had a hand so deeply in shedding the innocent blood of the faithful servants and messengers of the most high, who loved not their lives to the death that they might finish their testimony in faithfulness to the Lord among you.

And why Nathaniel did thou not mention in the Memorials how you have caused the innocent people called Quakers to suffer by you, and how you have imprisoned, whipped, spoiled their goods, cut off their ears, banished, and hanged them for the breach of no known just law, either of God or man, surely if thou had been an impartial Historian thou would have mentioned this, but I believe your actions have been so rigid and bloody contrary to justice and equity, Christianity and humanity, that thou are ashamed it should

be recorded for a Memorial for Ages to come, that they might understand how far you are digressed, from that which ye pretended you came hither for, to wit, liberty of Conscience, and why did thou not write impartially of things and men as they were, as they did who writ the Kings and Chronicles, who plainly declared of men as they were, justifying of that which was good, and disowning that which was evil in them, though they were their kings, governors, or priests, but thou hast manifest thyself to write by another spirit than they writ, and hast done quite contrary, crying up men beyond what they were and indeed beyond what your principle is, its possible for man to be whilst in the body but thou has manifested thy folly and hypocrisy to all men, who knew these then it may be better than thyself as for some of them I well know to be men quite contrary both in life and judgment to what thou hast reported of them.

Therefore my desire is that thou may come to see the deceit of thy heart, and the falseness of that spirit that rules thee, and if possible that thou may come to repent of it, and turn from it, least thou be swept away in the like judgments, as some of them were of whom thou makest mention to be miraculously slain with Thunder, for know this except you repent, ye shall all likewise perish, and be swept away in judgment, as your fore fathers the Persecutors in other ages have been.

For know this that the Lord our God is risen to sweep the earth, and the day of vengeance is at hand, and the year of recompense draweth nigh, for the sins of the great whore Babilon and Egypt (whose children ye are as by your spirits is manifest) and the cry thereof is come up unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities, and she shall re-

ceive double from the hand of the Lord for all her transgressions, for in her hath been found the blood of the prophets the saints, and martyrs of Jesus Christ, and of all that hath been slain upon the Earth, and she shall be rewarded as she hath rewarded us, and receive in the cup double for that which she hath filled to us, have she or you, her children called us deceivers, Heretics, Antichristian, pernicious and damnable we wilt now call her Deceiver, Heretic, Antichristian, pernicious and, damnable, yea, we can double it upon her, for we can prove it, to be so or else her Children, and as by your fruits, for as she have done so have you, murdered, killed and scandalized the innocent, harmless, Lambs of Christ so that it is evident that we are members of the great Whore, false Church, Antichrist, and that you are guilty of those charges, which thou and thy brethren have falsely charged upon us who are called Quakers.

So in short I have said something of the Truth, from the flood of slanders which thou hast cast out against it, who am one of those that first came among you, and have felt the cruelty of all your laws except death, and have outlived them, and by the power of the Lord come over all, so that I and the rest of my brethren, can walk through all your jurisdiction, and not a hand lifted up against us, though thou hast gloried so much of your being delivered from us.

Christopher Holder.

(1670)

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DATE LOANED	BORROWER'S NAME	DATE RETURNED
11-15-67	M. Elftmann	<i>am</i>
APR 15 '70	<i>James P. McIlwain</i>	<i>am</i>
4-29	<i>Renew</i>	<i>am</i>
AUG 5 '70	<i>C. Strand</i>	<i>am</i>
8-19	<i>Renew</i>	<i>am</i>
NOV 4 '70	<i>J. L. Strand</i>	<i>am</i>

